Guide

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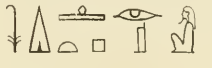
G. A. WAINWRIGHT.—The formula  in the light of mythology 101–104

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1904.

First Meeting, 13*th January*, 1904.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*, *&c.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Present was announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donor :—

From the Author, Émile Soldi-Colbert de Beaulieu.—"La Langue Sacrée." Vol. IV, fascic. 2.

The following Candidates for Membership were elected :—

M. N. Adler, *M.A.*, 22, Craven Hill, W.
John Hogg, West House, Pinner.
V. Amilhau, Château du Boucheron, Bosmie, H^te. Vienne. France.

The following Paper was read :—

DR. GASTER : "A MS. Variant of the Decalogue."

The Paper was discussed by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. Cook, and the Chairman.

The thanks of the Meeting were returned to Dr. Gaster.

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1903.

The Council presents the following Report on the progress of the Society during the past year. Attention must in the first place be drawn to our losses by the deaths of eight of our Members, among whom is especially to be noticed DR. W. PLEYTE, an Hon. Member of the Society, who for many years was Director of the Leyden Museum of Antiquities. He was a great scholar, a most learned Egyptologist, and a frequent contributor to our *Proceedings*. Reference must also be made to the late SIR C. NICHOLSON, Bart., one of our Vice-Presidents, who in former years did a great deal to advance the cause of research in Egypt.

The number of new Members elected during the past year rather more than balances the losses by death and resignation. And it is hoped that the recent additions to the Council will still further add to our numerical strength.

The titles of the Papers which have been printed in the *Proceedings* will be found fully set forth in the N°. for last December; but the following may be enumerated as of special interest: Prof. Naville's continuation of the translation of the Book of the Dead, which is now approaching completion; and his Paper on "The Egyptian name of Joseph;" Mr. S. A. Cook's account of a "Pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus;" Prof. Sayce's "Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions;" Dr. Pinches' translation, with commentary, of the tablet from Susa giving the story of "Gilgameš and the Hero of the Flood;" and to the continued discussion, initiated by Mr. Legge, on "The Transliteration of Egyptian," which has given those most competent to form an opinion an opportunity of setting forth their views on this much-disputed question.

The Council has, during the past year, published two works: in the first place the completion of "The Palace Gates of Balawat," which has been on hand for some little time. The labour of arranging for this

publication has been very great ; but now that it is completed it forms a very valuable work, the credit for which is solely due to Mr. Rylands. The other publication issued by the Council is the Index to the nine volumes of the *Transactions*, which has been issued to the subscribers, and can be purchased by others who may desire to possess it.

To one of our Members, Mr. E. J. Pilcher, the Society is indebted for a most useful piece of work : he has very kindly written lists of "Contents" of the volumes of bound-up pamphlets in the Library. The want of such lists has hitherto made these tracts useless for reference purposes.

As to the Accounts, the whole of the indebtedness to the end of 1902, and a part of that for 1903, has been paid off, and of the balance remaining due, a very considerable amount has been paid since the accounts were balanced, leaving not much more than £100 still owing.

That it has been possible to attain this result, is due partly to the considerable amount received from sales, which have been increased by the disposal of some surplus books, &c. ; and partly by the exercise of the most rigid economy. No expense that could possibly be avoided has been incurred, and the expenses of the office have reached an irreducible minimum. But a considerable saving might be effected in our printing bill if contributors would help to keep all unnecessary "padding" out of the *Proceedings*, and this they can best do by making their articles as short as possible.

The following Council and Officers for the current year were elected :—

COUNCIL, 1904.

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PROF. A. H. SAYCE, D.D., &c., &c.

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THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*

(*Continued from Vol. XXV., page* 346.)

CHAPTER CLXV.

Chapter of landing and not being obscured, so that the body may prosper in drinking water. (1)

O the very high one, the great one,
Amen, Amen, the lion Kasapa,
The first-born of the gods on the East of the sky.
Amon of the Takruti,
Amon who hides his colours, whose forms are mysterious, and who is master of the horns of Horus,
The great one of Nut.
Kaarki is thy name,
Kasaka is thy name,
The Sphinx is thy name,
Kasabaka is thy name.
Amon of the Ankak Takashar, Amon the sphinx is thy name. O Amon! I implore thee. Behold, I know thy name; thy forms are in my mouth, (2) and thy colours in my eyes.

Come towards thy offspring, thy form, Osiris *N.* Bring him towards the gate of eternity, grant him to rest in the Tuat; that his flesh may be entire in the Netherworld; that his soul may be powerful, that his body may be complete, (3) that he may be free from the society of the wicked one, that he may never be fettered.

I implore thy name, and thou art a shield for me; for thou believest that I know thee.

O great one, great one,
Amon (the hidden one) is thy name,
Rukashaka is thy name,
Thou art for me a shield.
Baarkai is thy name,
Markata is thy name,
The Sphinx is thy name,
Nasakabuba is thy name,
Tanasasa is thy name,
Sharshatakata is thy name.
Amon, Amon, O God, O God, Amon.

I implore thy name, and as I have given thee to understand (that I know thee), grant me to rest in the Tuat, and that all my limbs be reunited.

Said by the Spirit which is in Nut: I am doing, I am doing all thou hast said.

Said on the figure with raised arm. There are plumes on its head; its legs are apart; its torso is a scarab. It is painted in blue with liquid gum.

Said also on a figure the middle part of which is that of a man; his arms are hanging down. The head of a ram is on his right shoulder, and another on his left shoulder. Thou wilt paint on one bandage the two figures of the god with raised arm, and put it across the chest of the deceased, so that the two painted figures may be on his breast.

He to whom this has been done, the impure ones in the Tuat can do nothing to him. He drinks the running water of the stream, he shines like a star in the sky. (4)

NOTES.

The vignettes consist of the amulets described in the rubrics.

1. The explanation to this extraordinary title seems to be given in the last sentence of the rubric, where it is said of the deceased: "he drinks the running water of the stream, he shines like a star in the sky." The amulet for which this text was written will prevent the deceased, who is to be as bright as a star, from having his light taken

from him, from being obscured. The other blessing conferred upon him is that of drinking water of the stream. It is difficult to say why these two blessings alone are mentioned.

2. I am ready to utter the names of thy different forms, and I see thy various colours.

3. That his body may be reconstituted. It is curious to find in so late texts a vague remembrance of what seems to have been the prevalent custom in prehistoric times, and perhaps also during the Thinite period: the dismemberment of the body of the deceased. This custom was so entirely superseded by the opposite process, the mummification and the careful preservation of the body, that the old tradition is always mentioned with horror and disgust. The Book of the Dead is full of objurgations against the dismemberment of the body.

4. The Turin *Todtenbuch* ends here.

CHAPTER CLXVI.

Chapter of the Pillow.

Awake! thy sufferings are allayed, *N.* Thou art awaked when thy head is above the horizon. Stand up, thou art triumphant by means of what has been done to thee.

Ptah has struck down thine enemies. It has been ordered what should be done to thee. Thou (1) art Horus, the son of Hathor, the flame born of a flame, to whom his head has been restored after it had been cut off.

Thy head will never be taken from thee henceforth.

Thy head will never be carried away.

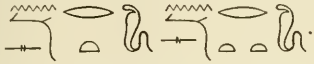
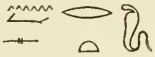
NOTES.

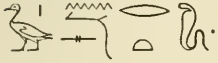
With Chapter 166 begins a series of chapters which are not in the Todtenbuch, and which have been collected from various papyri. For most of them there is only one text, therefore the translation is often very uncertain.

This Chapter, which is taken from London 9900 (*Aa*), seems to be only a variant, with a few additional sentences, of Chapter 43, "Chapter whereby the head of a person is not severed from him in the Netherworld." It alludes to the reconstitution of the body of the deceased, and to providing him with all his sepulchral equipment. Head-rests like that which is represented in the vignette are often found in the tombs with the coffins as early as the time of the XIth dynasty.

Chapter 166 was first discovered and translated by Dr. Birch (*Zeitschr.*, 1868, p. 82).

(1) Here begin the words of Chapter 43.

(2)  . The second word should be taken as a patronymic, "flame-born." Chapter 43 has 

 .

CHAPTER CLXVII.

Chapter of bringing an Eye.

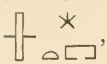
When Thoth had brought the Eye, he appeased the Eye, After Rā had wounded (1) her, she was raging furiously and then Thoth calmed her after she had gone away raging. As I am sound, she is sound and *N.* is sound.

NOTES.

This Chapter taken also from London 9900, is a mere abridgment of lines 30–34 in Chapter 17. It refers probably to an eclipse. The Eye, the moon, is pierced or wounded by Rā, which causes the goddess to be furious. Then, according to Chapter 17, "Thoth calms her troubled state (Brugsch), and brings her whole and sound without any defect." Thoth is called to appease the goddess.

1. The correct reading according to Chapter 17, is: or Brugsch (*Dict. Suppl.*, p. 751) translates the word: to pierce.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.

Chapter 168 should not have been placed among those of the Book of the Dead, it belongs to another book similar to the  , the book engraved on the walls of the royal tombs. It describes gods and genii of *the bounds* (1) *in the Tuat* who confer certain blessings on the deceased; such as this: "those who lift up their faces towards the sky at the prow of the boat of Rā, grant that Osiris *N.* may see Rā when he rises." A vignette gives the appearance of the god or genius spoken of. Every one of them is followed by this sentence: "for the libation of a vase has been made on earth by Osiris *N.* who is (now) the lord of abundance, and goes round the garden of Hotepit."

The three versions which have been preserved of this text are very fragmentary. The most complete, papyrus 10478 of the British Museum, contains only the 7 to 12. As the interest of this text, the character of which is chiefly pictorial, lies in the vignettes, it has been thought unnecessary to give a translation of it.

1. See note 2, Chapter 127.

CHAPTER CLXIX.

Chapter of raising the funereal Bed.

Thou art a lion, thou art a sphinx, thou art Horus who avengeth his father; thou art these four gods, those glorious ones who are shouting for joy, who are making incantations, and who bring out water by the power of the tramp of their feet. Thou risest on the right, thou risest on the left. Seb has opened thy blind eyes, (1) he has loosened thy legs which were fettered. Thou hast received thy heart of thy mother, thy whole heart of thy own body; thy soul is in the sky, thy body is under the ground. There is bread for thy body, water for thy throat, sweet breeze for thy nostrils.

Thou restest in their funereal chambers, which those who are in

their coffins have opened for thee and for thy . . . . . when thou journeyest: thou art firm on thy pedestal, of thy existence, thou appearest in heaven, and thou fastenest the tackle (2) by the side of Rā.

Thou fishest with the net on the river, the water of which thou drinkest; thou walkest on thy feet, and thou dost not walk headlong. Thou appearest on the surface of the earth, and thou doest not come forth from under solid ground, the strength (3) which is in thee will not be shaken through the action of the god of thy domain.

Thou art pure, thou art pure, thy forepart is purified, thy hindpart is cleansed with *bet* and natron, and cooled with incense.

Thou art purified with the milk (given to) Apis, and with beer of the goddess Tenemit, with natron which removes all what is wrong in thee, and which was provided by the daughter of Rā when she gave it to her father Rā; and when she raised for thee the mountain where is buried her father Osiris. (4)

I have taken a bite of these sweet things which are on the hands (?) of Osiris *N.* the loaves (?) from above, which belong to Rā, made of grain of Abu, and four loaves from below which belong to Seb, made of grain from the South. The god (5) of thy domain brings thee the Field of Hotepit, his hands are before thee.

Thou goest out like Rā, thou art powerful like Rā, thou art in possession of thy feet. Osiris *N.* is in possession of his feet at all times and at all hours; thou wilt not be judged, thou wilt not be imprisoned, thou wilt not be guarded, thou wilt not be put in bonds, thou wilt not be placed in the house where are the enemies. Cakes are piled up before thee, and offerings are well guarded for thee.

There is no one to oppose thee and to prevent thee from going out.

Thou receivest thy clothing, thy sandals, thy stick, thy linen, thy weapons, with which thou wilt cut off heads, thou wilt twist round the necks of thy foes: these enemies who would bring death to thee, they will not approach thee.

The great god speaks to thee: Let him be brought here for all that will happen. The hawk rejoices in thee, the cackler cackles to thee, Rā opens to thee the doors of the sky. Seb opens for thee the earth.

Thou art great, a mighty (6) Chu, whose name is not known, the soul which opens the Amenta. It is mighty this soul of *N.*, for he (7) is beloved of Rā and well pleasing to his circle, he joins (?)

the ways, he guards the men, and guides the lion to the place where his *ka* is propitiated. N. . . . the lord of mankind causes thee to live and that thy soul be sound, that thy body may be enduring and great, that thou mayest see the light (8) and breathe the wind, that thy face may be revealed in the house of right, that thou mayest be stationed in the meadow, and not see any storm, that thou mayest follow the lord of the two earths, that thou mayest refresh thyself under the *merit* tree by the side of the goddess, the great magician. (9)

Seshait is sitting in front of thee. Sau is protecting thy limbs: the bull milks for thee his cows which are in the train of Horsechait. (10)

Thou washest thy face at the mouth of the stream of Cherāba, thou art welcome to the great gods of Pu and Tepu; (11) thou seest Thoth conversing with Rā in the sky. Thou goest out and goest in into Anit, thou conversest with the Rehiu.

Thy *ka* is with thee, that thou mayest rejoice; and the heart of thy birth; thou wakest thy . . . . . are happy; the cycle of the gods give pleasure to thy heart. Thou goest out (and thou seest) four loaves for thee from Sechem, and four loaves from Hermopolis; thou goest out and there are four (loaves) from Heliopolis on the table of the lord of the two earths.

Thou wakest in the night, and thou art welcome to the lords of Heliopolis. Hu (12) is in thy mouth, thy feet do not turn back, there is life in thy limbs.

Thou seizest the *sma* (13) at Abydos and thou conductest victuals to the great gods and vases of drink to those who are above the clouds in the festival of Osiris, on the morning of the Uak festival; the *hersheta* priest decks thee with gold; thy garment is well arranged with byssus; the Nile rises over thy body; thou art glorious (14) . . . . thou drinkest on the shore of the lake; thou art welcome to the gods who are in it; thou comest forth in the sky with the gods who bring Maat to Rā, thou art brought before the cycle of the gods, thou art like one of them. Thou art the gander among the geese which are offered to Ptah Anebefres.

NOTES.

This Chapter and the following are found in one papyrus only, Paris, III, 93, a document more remarkable for the beauty of its vignettes than for the correctness of the text.

Both Chapters refer to the funereal bed or couch on which the deceased will lie like Osiris. None of them has a vignette. As in the course of these chapters there is no mention of the bed itself, we must suppose that they were read while the bed was raised or arranged. The translation of this text is particularly difficult, and often conjectural, owing to our papyrus having no other document to compare it with.

1. All this bears a great resemblance to Chapter 26.

2. In landing, see Chapter 99.

3. . I have kept Renouf's translation, "strength," but I believe the sense is the same as before: "solid ground, dry land, continent (Feste, Brugsch)," as we find in this sentence from the Stele at Abusimbel: "the mountains, the water, and the continents are shaken by thy name."

4. For the mountain where the burial of Osiris takes place, see vignette to Chapter 186.

5. I translate as if there was .

6. "Mighty," Renouf's translation. I should prefer "distinguished, eminent," see note 2, Chapters. 141–3.

7. I read here .

8. The light kindled for his *ka* (see Chapter 132, A and B), and which gives life to the *ka*. The lighting of a lamp is a symbol of the birth (Lep., *Denkm.*, III, 74 c.) and accompanies it.

9. For this word I have not followed Renouf's translation, which would have been: the master of the words of power (see Chapter. 108).

10. A name of Isis, represented as a cow, and worshipped as such, chiefly in the town of Apis, the capital of the Libyan nome, near Lake Mareotis. The bull there was Osiris, and the calf Horus (see note 4 on Chapter 109).

11. See note 5 on Chapter 18.

12. The god of abundance.

13. an unknown object: however, the sense is clear. This means: thou becomest the , the look-out

of the ship which is transporting victuals (see Chapters 109 and 149*b*).

14. The text seems to be very incomplete here.

CHAPTER CLXX.

Chapter of arranging the funereal Bed.

Thy limbs have been given thee, thou takest hold of thy bones, I have set for thee thy limbs; the earth is bent upon protecting thy flesh. Thou art Horus who was within the egg: when thou art raised, thou seest the divine body (of Rā), thou marchest towards the horizon, to the place where thou likest to be: and when thou art there, there are hailings and cries of welcome, with all (good things) which appear on the altar.

Horus has raised thee when he rose himself, as he did for him who is in the sacred abode.

Hail, Osiris, thou art born twice. Ua has raised thee, Anubis on his mountain has caused thy bandages to grow upon thee. O, *N.*, Ptah Sokaris grants thee to put thy hand on the ornaments of the divine house.

O, *N.*, Thoth himself comes to thee with the writing of divine words: he grants thee to direct thyself towards the horizon of the sky to the place where thy *ka* likes to be; he has done it to Osiris on the night when he came forth living.

Thy white diadem is established on thy brow. The god Nemu is with thee; he grants thee to be at the head of the . . . . . ?

Hail, *N.*, arise on thy bed, and come forth. Thou are raised by Rā on the horizon of the Maati in his boat.

Hail, *N.*, thou art raised by Tmu, who grants thee to endure for ever.

Hail, *N.*, thou art raised by Amsu of Koptos; thou art adored by the gods of the shrine.

Hail, *N.*, blessed be thy coming in peace to thy house of eternity and to thy everlasting monument.

Salutations to thee in Pu Tepu, in the shrine which thy *ka* loveth, within thy dwelling.

Mighty is thy soul, thou hast been raised from thy resting

couch (?), thou art greater than the victim (?) which has been embraced by the gods.

Thou art like the god who begets the beings. It is admirable what thou createst more than that of the gods.

Thy splendour is greater than that of the Glorified, thy spirits are mightier than those who are in (?).

Hail, *N.*, thou art raised by Ptah Aneb'efres, who puts thy dwelling in front of that of the gods.

Hail, *N.*, thou art Horus, the son of Osiris, begotten by Ptah, created by Nut. Thou shinest like Rā on the horizon when he lighteth the two earths by his rays.

The gods say to thee: Come, come forth, see what belongs to thee in thy house of eternity.

Thou hast been raised by Rennut, the great one, who conceived Tmu in the presence of the circle of the gods of Nut.

I am the second outcome of the sky, and the third of him who makes his light. I have come out of the womb; I have been an infant like my father; there are no perverse actions of mine in the various events of my lot.

CHAPTER CLXXI.

Chapter of wrapping up (the deceased) in a pure garment.

O Tmu, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Sut, Nephthys, Horus of the two Horizons, Hathor in the great dwelling, Chepera, Mentu lord of Thebes, Amon lord of Nestaui, ye the great cycle of the gods, ye the small cycle of the gods, ye gods and goddesses issued from Nu, Sebek of Shet, Sebek in all his manifold names, in all the abodes where his *ka* likes to be; ye gods of the South and of the North, ye gods in heaven and on earth, grant a pure garment to the mighty Chu *N.*; give him to be glorious by it and destroy all that was wrong in him.

This pure garment of *N.* has been allotted to him for ever, for eternity, for you destroy all that is wrong in him.

NOTES.

This Chapter, which has no vignette, is found in one papyrus only, written for a deceased of the name of Amenophis. Its Theban origin is clearly indicated by the mention of Mentu and Amon, the two great gods of Thebes.

Its character is different from the Book of the Dead in general. It seems to be part of a ritual such as the Ritual of Amon and Mut, with which it has a great likeness (see Moret, *Rituel du culte divin*, ch. 6). (1) The clothing in a pure or perhaps a clean garment, will be the sign that all that was wrong in the deceased has been destroyed by the gods. Therefore the deceased calls on them, asking them to complete this destruction in order that he may shine or be glorious, wearing the pure garment.

It is alluded to in the next Chapter (fifth verse), "thou puttest on the pure garment, and thou divestest the apron, when thou stretchest thyself on the funereal bed."

(*To be continued.*)

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

By PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*, *&c.*

(*Continued from Vol. XXV, page* 356.)

I will defer to another occasion the translation of the other inscriptions, but since my Paper was in type, further study of the texts has led me to make the following corrections and additions to it.

(1) The "oblique line" is not a word-divider or mark of abbreviation, but denotes a vowel. On the Tarkondemos boss it takes the place of *i* in M.[1] X, 2, 8, and elsewhere; similarly in M. XVI, A. 1, we have , corresponding to ID.-*i* in M. II, 5. As, however, it is sometimes attached to the character *i*, it cannot have been *i*, but must have represented a closely allied sound: I will therefore make it *e*. Generally it is attached to the character along with which it was pronounced, but occasionally it stands alone as in M. XVI, A. 1, and it may be either oblique, horizontal, or perpendicular (*e.g.*, M. VI, 5). It also serves to indicate the name of an individual (*e.g.*, M. XXI, 1), a use derived from the fact that it is the cipher "one." "One" in Hittite will accordingly have been *e*, which will give us the name of an additional numeral to *me*, "four," and (possibly) *kas*, "three."

(2) ꝏ denotes an ideógraph or abstract rather than a plural. At times the phonetic spelling is added after the ideograph to which

[1] M. denotes Messerschmidt's *Corpus inscriptionum Hettiticarum* (Berlin, 1900) and *Appendix* (1902).

the symbol is attached. *Na* is the demonstrative, so that the ideograph would signify "this–that," set back to back.

(3) In the older inscriptions 𒁹𒌋 (*i.e.*, "one this" or "thing") is prefixed only to the title of a class of persons; its use as a general word-divider came later.

(4) The first territorial title of the king of Mer'ash (M. XXI, 1) is *Kal-kase-a-na-s*, "the Kalkasian." Kalkas must be the Kalkesh of the Egyptian monuments, which is localised by Maspero in the neighbourhood of Mer'ash. It is the classical Kilka.

(5) 𒀀 "city," is not *aras* or *ra*. In the revised copy of the inscription of Izgin (M. *App.*, XIX, B. 9) it is replaced by *is* in the word *a-mi-is-m-a*. This will explain why *a-mis* seems to mean "city" in M. XXXII, 1, 2. Naturally the ideograph of "city" (which must also have denoted a "building," see M. XV, A. 3) would have had other values as well. One of these was *me-s*, "city," often ideographically represented by a combination of 𒀀 and 𒀀. Thus we have *me-i-n*, M. II, 2; *mê-n*, M. XXXII, 2; *me-ya* (used phonetically), M. IX, 2. *Me-s*, "city," is probably related to *mâ-s*, "place."

(6) The "boot" is often employed as a determinative, in the sense of "earth" or "below." In *yamâ*, "here," M. XI, 4, it is a determinative and not a phonetic; hence my difficulties about assigning a value to it disappear. The only certain value it has is *mi*, which must signify "the land." This explains why the suffix *-mi-s* is attached to the name of an eponymous deity of a tribe or country; e g., *'m-mâ-ur-mi-is*, "the Amorite," M. VI, 3. In *sar-mis*, "king," it may have the same force. The suffix *-mâ-s* and case-ending *-m-a* similarly denote "locality," and *Sandanyas*, "he of the town of Sandes," shows that *-n* or *-na* must also have a local sense.

(7) From M. XXXII, 5 compared with VIII, A. 3 we learn that 𒀀 has the value of *ka-tu*. In the first passage, accordingly, the word is to be read: ID.-*na-ka-tu*-ID.-*mâ-s-m-i-n*-DET., i.e. *Ana-Katu-mâs-min*, "the city of the god of the land of Katu."

In M. *App.*, XXI, 1, 2, 𒀀 interchanges with 𒀀, as it does also in M. XXXII, 3, 5, where it is preceded by the determinative of deity. The second character, therefore, must also have the value of *Katu*. We find it on the Obelisk of Izgin (M. *App.*, XIX, B. 16) followed by *-na-is*, the whole word being *Katu-na-is*, "the Cataonian."

As for the god Katu, who took his name from the tribe, or from whom the tribe took its name, we already knew of his existence from the name of the king of Kummukh, Katu-zil or Kata-zil. Katî, too, was a king of the Que in Cilicia.

The name of the Mer'ash king will thus read, *Sanda-gam (?)-m-Katu-mi-i-is-s*, "Sanda-gam (?) of the land of Katu," *i.e.*, the Cataonian. This is in accordance with geographical requirements, the Cataonia of classical geography embracing the district over which the king of Mer'ash held rule.

(8) In M. VIII, A. 3, *ka-katu*, with the suffix *n-n*, is given as the phonetic reading of the ideograph . That we must read *katu*, and not *katun*, is shown by M. XXV, 4 (and probably also line 2), where the ideograph is followed by *ka-tu*. In M. XII, 3, 3, the name of "the god Katu," where the divine name is expressed by this ideograph, is followed by *ta*, which may, however, be the case-ending. The same god is mentioned at Carchemish (M. XI, 1, 5), and probably also at Hamath (M. V, 1). We can now read the titles of the king of Tyana (M. XXIII, A. 2), *Khila (?)-gha-n(a) Katu-n(a)-s* "a Cataonian of Cilicia."

(9) If my conjecture is right that is *khila*, the second territorial title of the king of Mer'ash will be *Khilê-khila-gha-a-na-s*, or perhaps *Khalê-khala-gha-a-na-s*, "of *Khalê-Cilicia*," where the Khalê would be the Khali of the Assyrian Khali-rabbat, with which the name of the Halys may be compared.

(10) The territorial title of the king of the Khattinâ (M. VII, 1, 1) is **-katu-nas*. As the Irqata of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the Irqanat of Shalmaneser II, and 'Arqantu of Thothmes III, was in the neighbourhood of the place where the inscription was discovered, we may conclude that the value of the first character is *ir*.

(11) At the end of the inscription from Babylon (M. II, 6, 7), Tuates of Kalkas, "the governor of the city of Sanda-gamas (?)," says that "Sandes, the lord of the city (?)" has "founded (*kais*) for the king the city of Katê . . " The name of the city seems to recur at Carchemish, M. XIII, 2.

(12) I have confounded together two characters which ought to be kept distinct, *ar* or *ur*, and or . The first character is found at Fraktin (M. XXX) under the arm (*sar*?) and after the ideograph of "high-priest," the second is not *al*, but *gal* (*kal*) or rather *galê* (see M. VI, 5 compared with 4). Hence in

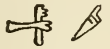
M. XXI, 2, and elsewhere, we have without the determinative which appears in M. XI, 4. Consequently the name of the Ivris king is Ae-m-galê-a-s, or E-m-galê-a-s, that is to say, the Αἰμγόλας and Αἴμγολις of Greek Cilician inscriptions. It is, I believe, the same name as that of the Tabal king of Cilicia in the time of Assurbani-pal, which the Assyrian scribes write Mugalli.

(13) That the horns had the value of *ammâ* or *mâ* follows from M. VIII, A. 2, 3, B. 4, where we have *a-m-m-a* *mis*, *m-m-a* and "440 cities" (*a*(?)-*mis*) *-m-mâ-yas*, *ammâyas* having the signification of "strong," as may be concluded from the ideograph (the arm) of which it is the phonetic expression. Hence in the longer inscription of Hamath (M. VI, 1), according to the London cast, the territorial name of "Hamath" is replaced by (?) which accordingly must be read AMMA-amati(?)-MATI. In M. V, 1 the name is written *-mâ-ta-ya*, where the first character will have the value of *am*, the reduplicated form being *ama*. In M. V, 3 we get *-am-ya* and *-ama-nas*, that is to say the Ammiya, Amma or Am-KI of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. The same geographical name is found in M. VI, 4 with the determinatives "city-region" attached to it.

(14) The name of the city or country over which the Karaburna prince held rule (M. XLVI, 1) recurs on a fragment from Carchemish (M. XII, 3, 2–3), where the *mâ* of Karaburna is replaced by *am*, and the ideograph which commences the name has the phonetic complement *da* (if the copy is correct).

(15) The ideograph , which is found on seals (M. XL, 5, 10), has the value either of *isi* or of *i . . si*. Cp. M. XXI, 4, 5, 6, where we have *i*-ID-*si-ma-i* (followed by D.P. *Katu-mis-i Kalkaseanya-mis* D.A. *ana*, "the Cataonian, prince of the Kalkasians"), *i*-ID-*m-a-na-i* and ID-*me-is* (followed by the ideograph of "king").

(16) My translation, "I have conquered countries," in the short Hamath inscriptions (M. IV, A. 2), must be slightly amended. The same words (with a different grammatical suffix) recur in M. V, 2 and VI, 4, though in the first instance the phonetic complement *ya* representing the first syllable of the verb is omitted. But whereas in

the shorter inscriptions of Hamath we have *ya-* *mae* (or *mê*), where *mae* is the phonetic equivalent of the ideograph of "country," in VI, 4 we read *ya*  *-misê mie* followed by the boot, the ideograph of "earth," the place of the boot being taken by the plural *mis* in V, 2. The translation will be, "I am master of the land," a list of the conquered cities being added, among which is (A)ndakales "the royal city (?) of the land of Amma." The situation of this city is given us in the inscription from Kirtsh-oghlu (M. VII, 1, 2). It is probably the Atakal of Thothmes III.

(17) The sacred stone or cone △, which helps to express ideographically the name of the goddess Iskhara, and is also attached to the names of objects which have a sacred character, seems to have been the central object of worship in a Hittite temple, to the exclusion perhaps of an image of the deity. Both the Carchemish and Tyana kings record the restoration of one: in M. XI, 3 we have "Behold (represented by a man's head with the hand pointing outward), the sacred stone of the city as it was before [I restored]." In M. XXXIII, A. 4 we read similarly, "the sacred stone (of Sandes, *Sandayasn*) as it was before anew (?) (*aghas*) I made." See also M. XXXII, 5. The two feet marching backward naturally denote ideographically "former," "before." The verb *mis*, with the determinative of "building" (the plough), as well as *aghas*, is met with also in M. VII, 1, 2, where I should translate "the floor (?) anew (?), the treasury-bag (?) and the *katus* in this temple I have (?) made."

(18) In M. XV, B. 1 the name of Carchemish is replaced by the sacred stone, reminding us that Hierapolis was the successor of Carchemish. Now the king of the Gurun inscriptions, who calls himself "the Carchemishian," has the same title ("of the city of the sacred stone") as the king of this particular Carchemish text, and is, I believe, the same prince. He is referred to in another Carchemish text (M. IX, 2, *Sun (?)-n-na-s*), where I have been mistaken in supposing that the word "house" is meant. Sun (?)nas was the king, Khila (?)mes the high-priest.

(19) In M. XV, B. 2, the reduplicated *ka-i-as-ka-i-as* seems to have a passive sense, "established priest (D.P. *liya*) of these temples" (*i-yas-i-s-s-i na-m-a*).

(20) For the word *namâ*, "this," see, more especially, the last words of M. XXIII, A, 4, *na-m-a* ID., "to this god." Elsewhere, we have *namis*, *namin*, etc., and the pronoun can be placed either before or after its substantive (*e.g.* M. XI, 5). The pronominal stem is *na*; see M. XI, 2, 4, 5, XLVI, 2.

(21) The Gurun inscriptions are dedicated to the three "supreme" deities of the Hittite triad (M. XVIII, B. 1), who are also invoked in the last lines of them, which probably contain a curse upon the destroyers of the monument. First comes the god [illegible], who is represented at Boghaz Keui as standing on the heads of two priests, with a goat at his side, and advancing to meet the chief goddess of the land (M. XXVII, 9, XXIX, 9). We may provisionally term him Tarkhu; his name is found after "house" at Carchemish, M. XI, 2, 4, where, however, Messerschmidt has not deciphered the symbol; see also M. I, 3. Then comes the name of the goddess written [illegible], . . *mes*, which is probably a title like Amma and Ma at Komana. Her name is expressed by the same ideograph at Fraktin (M. XXX, B.), and is also held in the left hand of the image of the goddess from Carchemish now in the British Museum. Thirdly, and lastly, we have the divine son, the Phrygian Attys. His name is denoted by a pair of legs as at Boghaz Keui, M. XXVII, 11, E. XXIX, 11.

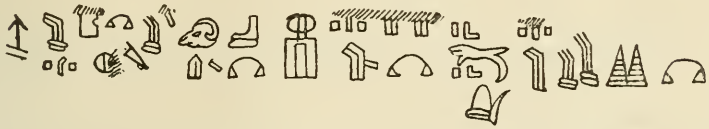
The "9 cities" mentioned at Gurun (M. XVIII, B. 5) and Izgin (M, *App.* XIX, B. 8) correspond with the 9 gods or deified states at Carchemish (M. X, 2, 4).

(22) The name of the Izgin king terminates in *-kas*, M. *App.* XIX, A. 2. Each column of the Izgin inscription reads separately from top to bottom.

(23) The land of Kas over which the Hittite kings claim rule (M. X, 1, etc.) will have given its name to Mount Kasios, which is, in fact, exactly the Kas-yas of M. X, 3. Cp. also the name of the two cities of Kas-tabala, the second element in which is the name of the Tabal or Tibareni.

(24) I should now give the following amended translation of the inscription of Tyana (M. XXXII, A.): "Emgaleas, the Tyanian king and priest, the lordly dirk-bearer, the Cataonian prince of Cilicia, the lord of the city of the Eneti (*Yanatue-na-sya*), the prince of the royal city (?). In this city the sacred stone of Sandes of the Eneti, as it was before, anew I made."

(25) I append the copy of an unpublished inscription from the site of the ancient Malatiyeh, which is now in the Louvre. It is a



companion to the one from the same place already known (M. XVI, A.). If I am right in seeing the picture of a gate in the ideograph which follows the demonstrative pronoun, the inscriptions will have come from the same building, and record the names of the constructors of its gates. The person commemorated in the present text has neither a royal nor a priestly title. I should translate: "Of this gateway the carver out is Lîe . . s, the lord of . . . , the . . . ian." Underneath the inscription are the figures of two men standing in a one-horsed chariot, the wheel of which has six spokes. One of them is drawing a bow, while under the horse is a dog and in front is a flying stag with branching antlers. The representation is essentially the same as that of the companion monument, except that the stag takes the place of a lion. The character in these Malatiyeh inscriptions which I was unable to identify is simply *is*. We must read *yâis* ID.-*mâ-s* ID.-*is*, etc. The broken character in the new inscription after *a-ie* is probably *ma*, .

(26) I can at last make a suggestion in regard to the reading of the name of the Hamath king. The knife seems to have the value of *yan*, when used ideographically (M. VI, 4, V. 2, compared with V, 3); the preceding character would be *ti* according to (13); and the first character may be a variant of that which has the value of *ar* in *Ma-ar-gha-(a)sis-is* (M. XXI, 2). In this case the name will be *Ar-ti-yan-n(e)-s*. Now Arteanu was the name of an "Aramæan" chieftain in the neighbourhood of Mount Masius in the time of Assur-nazir-pal (*Kurkh Monolith*, 42). If is *ti*, we shall have the name of the land of the Eneti (*N-ti-mi-is-a-na-s*) in the Andaval inscription (M. XXXI, C, 1) as copied by Ramsay from his squeeze (*Recueil de Travaux*, XIV, Pl. I, 4).

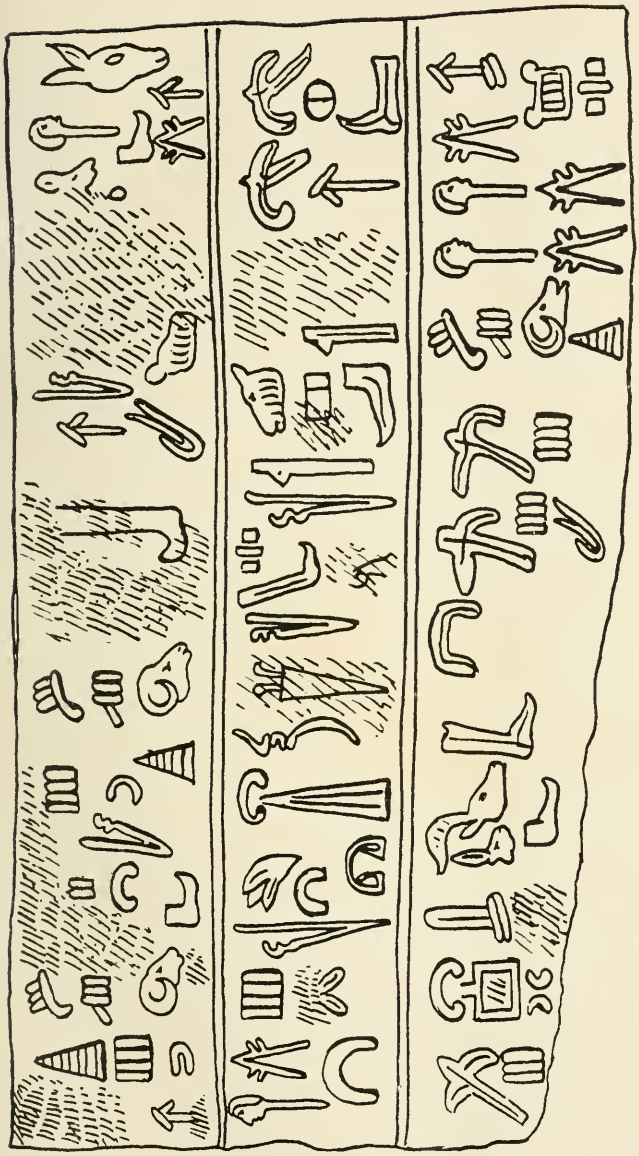
(27) The country of which the Hamathite princes were kings was I-gha-na-a-na, the Yakhanâ of the Assyrians, not Igaid. The third character takes the place of *na* in the word *ana* "prince" (M. XI, 3, 5, compared with X, 8).

NOTES.

In my Paper on "The Monuments of the Hittites" *Trans. S.B.A.*, VII, 269), I drew attention to the rock-sculptures outside the Bâb Bûlûs on the south side of Antioch (Chesney: *Expedition to the Euphrates and Tigris*, I, p. 425) as being of Hittite origin. I find Aucher-Eloy (*Relations de Voyages en Orient de* 1830 *à* 1838, I, p. 83) describing what is manifestly a Hittite inscription on the rocks surrounding the ruins of Seleucia. His words are; "Nous remarquons quelques caractères hiéroglyphiques tracés en forme d'œil sur les rochers." Aucher-Eloy also states (I, p. 160) that a rock-sculpture which he had seen in the Cilician Gates was destroyed in 1834, along with an adjoining bridge, in order, as he believed, to facilitate the passage of the Egyptian artillery.

As I find that misapprehensions exist in regard to the copies of the "Niobê" inscription made by Dr. Dennis and myself, I give here the facts. The copy published by Dr. Dennis in the *Proceedings* of this Society in 1881, Vol. III, p. 49, was made with the help of a ladder, which however was not long enough to enable him to get very near the inscription. Accordingly when I was staying with him in March, 1881, we made an expedition to the place with two ladders, which we tied together, and then I mounted them, leaving Dr. Dennis below to see that they did not slip. The double ladder allowed me to reach the inscription, which is very well preserved, and I both made a copy and took a squeeze of it. My copy of the text, therefore, must supersede the earlier one of Dr. Dennis. I also took advantage of the occasion to examine carefully the head of the figure of "Niobê."

KÖLITOLU-YAILA.—The inscription of Kölitolu-yaila, near the site of the ancient Tyriaion, has been published so incorrectly that it is necessary to publish it again: indeed, hardly a character in the copy is right, as may be seen by a reference to the annexed Plate.



INSCRIPTION OF KÖLITOLU-VAILA. (*Drawing by Prof. Sayce.*)

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

V.

The Genealogies and Lists in Nehemiah.

By Sir Henry H. Howorth. *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., etc.*

The position for which I have long contended, namely, that the Hebrew text of the once united work, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, as it appears in the Canonical Scriptures, was deliberately edited and re-arranged by the Doctors at Jamnia, has been so generally accepted, that I think it important to press home its consequences somewhat further, and I propose in this paper to consider especially the lists and genealogies in the book of Nehemiah, which have been such a source of anxiety to the critics both conservative and revolutionary.

The conclusion that the Greek text of the Canonical Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah in the Uncial MSS., which follows the Masoretic text so closely, was the work of Theodotion, and does not represent the Septuagint at all, is the key to many difficulties, and it sweeps away some impossible inferences with which our text books on Biblical criticism are encumbered.

I hope that one result of it will be an attempt by some competent scholar to give us a new edition of all the fragments and remains of the texts used by Origen in his Hexapla, arranged, not as Field arranged them, namely, scattered over the various verses of the Bible, but collected together, so that each author's fragments may be put together and studied together. When this is done, Theodotion will occupy a considerable space, since, as we now know, at least five books in the Greek Canonical Scriptures came from his hand, and do not represent the Septuagint at all.

Let us now turn to the lists of names and genealogies which form such a difficult part of the latter portion of the book of Nehemiah, and whose contradictions and solecisms have given rise to so many unsuccessful theories and efforts to find a rational explanation.

The new postulate which I claim to bring to the solution of the problem is, that the solecisms and blots in question, which are universally admitted, were not the handiwork of the original compiler of the work, but of the editors of the Masoretic text, and in all probability did not exist in the Septuagint as originally written, nor before the 2nd century A.D.

Let us begin with the most important and interesting of these lists, namely, that which occurs in duplicate in the 2nd chapter of the Canonical Ezra and the 7th of Nehemiah, both in the Hebrew and in the Greek of Theodotion Inasmuch as these two books once formed a continuous work, this duplication of a very long narrative seems to be most difficult to explain. We cannot understand how it could have occurred to the original writer or compiler of the work (whose narrative as given in Esdras A is both logical and well arranged), to commit such a solecism and absurdity, a similar absurdity in fact to the duplication of the last verses of Chronicles in the beginning of Ezra, and we are tempted to infer that, as in the latter case, the absurdity is due not to the original compiler of the work, but to the subsequent editors of it.

As we have seen in a previous paper (Part II, pp. 5 and 6), the narrative in question, whatever its origin, is not in its right place in Ezra, but has been transferred from its original and logical place to one quite inconsistent with the course of events. Hence it seems plainly to follow that in regard to the position of this narrative in Ezra, the original order of the compiler of the work has been tampered with by the subsequent editors. I also showed that the narrative as it occurs in the 7th of Nehemiah is quite foreign to the preceding and subsequent story, and is in fact a boulder inserted in a matrix in which it was not originally placed.

I have also shown that from its very terms it is impossible to be what it claims to be, namely, a list discovered by Nehemiah representing "those who came up at the first," and inserted in his own memoirs by himself (*vide ante*, Part IV, pp. 22 and 23). In addition to the arguments there used, I would refer to some others which I had overlooked: 1, the fact that "the Tirshatha"

is in Nehemiah referred to in the third person, shows it is no part of Nehemiah's memoirs, which are written in the first. He would not have referred to himself in such a way. Again, Ezra is specially named in the text as given in both recensions of the Greek of Theodotion, which, as we shall see, are independent in regard to their MS. source, *i.e.*, Codex B and Codices A and S. Its absence from the Hebrew is another example of the mutilation of that text, of which several others are known. Neither Ezra nor Nehemiah "came up at the first" as is stated in Nehemiah vii, 5.

Whatever the value of the rest of its contents, it is clear therefore that the exordium in Nehemiah vii, 5, "and I found a register, etc.," is spurious, and was doubtless invented by the person or persons who inserted it where it is now found in order to disguise the abruptness of the transition. To use the expressive phrase of Wellhausen in regard to it (*see* G.G.N. 1895, 176), "ist nur ein Pflaster auf ein Schnitt; die Memoiren Nehemias sind hier abgeschnitten."

It is quite plain therefore that the narrative in question, as it occurs both in Ezra iv and Nehemiah vii, is displaced, and not in its original place. Here again I would adopt the words of Kosters and Cheyne, with which I fully agree: "The list of those who returned occupies neither in Ezra nor in Nehemiah the place to which it rightly belongs." (Encyl. Biblica; *article* Ezra–Nehemiah.)

While the list in question has been displaced both in the Canonical Ezra and Nehemiah, it seems to occupy its logical and original place in Esdras A, where we do not read of its being "a list of those who came up at the first," but merely, "and these are they of Jewry that came up from Captivity, where they dwelt as strangers, whom Nebuchodonosor the King of Babylon had carried away unto Babylon, and they returned unto Jerusalem and to the other parts of Jewry." This is doubtless the form and the position of the narrative as it stood in the Septuagint and in the time of Josephus, and it makes it almost certain that the dislocation and transplantation of it in the Canonical Ezra and Nehemiah dates from after the time of Josephus, and was the handiwork of the Jamnia Doctors who constructed the Masoretic text. Whence was the narrative derived?

While its occurrence in Esdras A is evidence that it orginally formed a part of the compiler's story, there is no good evidence that the list occurred at all in the original memoirs of Nehemiah, in no part of which could it logically find a place. It is almost certain,

therefore, *a priori*, that as it occurs in Ezra, it could not have been transferred thither from Nehemiah's memoirs, while it is very probable that it was transferred to the latter from the former. The only reason which has been urged against this view is the statement in the exordium to the narrative in Nehemiah, where Nehemiah claims to have himself found the list. This exordium I have shown, however, to be spurious.

That the narrative in Nehemiah was transferred from and is a mere duplication of that in Ezra is supported by other considerations.

In the first place, the list in Ezra is more complete than it is in Nehemiah: compare the mention of Magbish, of Akkub, of Hagab, and of Asnah in Ezra ii, 30, 45, 46 and 50; none of which names occur in Nehemiah at all.

A comparison with Esdras A is still more instructive, since the list there is more perfect than it is either in Ezra or Nehemiah: thus in verses 15 and 16 we have a clause entirely absent from the two latter books, namely, "the sons of Ceilan and Azetas 67, the sons of Azuran 432, the sons of Ananias 101, the sons of Arom 32." In the latter verse again, and in verse 17, we have in Esdras A the names of Azephurith for Hariph in Ezra and Nehemiah; the former of which, says Mr. Ball, looks genuine, meaning "land of wine presses." In Esdras A, v, verse 19, the number 25 is attached to Kirjathiarius; no number occurs either in Nehemiah or Ezra in the same place. In the same verse, "they of Pira" 700, occurring in Esdras A, v, is omitted from Ezra and Nehemiah. In verse 20 of Esdras A, v, we have, "they of Chadias and Ammidoi 422;" so in verse 24 of Esdras A, v, *the sons* of Jesus *among the sons of Sanaseb* is wanting in Ezra and Nehemiah, so is the clause, "the sons of Uta, the sons of Cetab," in verse 30. So again, in verses 31 and 32 of Esdras we have the clauses, the sons of Chaseba, the sons of Azara, the sons of Pharacim, and the sons of Coutha, none of which occur in Ezra or Nehemiah, but compare Kings xvii, 24. Again, in verse 34 of Esdras v, we have the clause, "the sons of Sarothie, the sons of Masias, the sons of Gar, the sons of Addus, the sons of Suba, the sons of Apherra, the sons of Barodis, the sons of Sebat," none of which occur in Ezra or Nehemiah. So also in verse 38 we have the clause, Addus (? Jaddua or Iddo) and Augia (? Hagiah), which are similarly absent from the other two writings.

On the other hand, two names, which look like duplications, are

wanting in Esdras A. Thus in Ezra ii, 7, and Nehemiah vii, 12, we have the entry, "the children of Elam 1254," and in Ezra ii, 31, Nehemiah vii, 34, "the children of the other Elam 1254." This latter entry is omitted in Esdras A. Similarly, in Ezra ii, 31, we have, the children of Harim 320, and in verse 39 the same phrase, with the number 1017. In Nehemiah vii, 35, the same duplication of the name occurs with the same number. In Esdras A, v, 25, one entry is contained, Harim being spelt Carme, but the other is omitted.

These variants make it plain that the list in Esdras A, v, differs materially, and is altogether much more complete than those in Ezra and Nehemiah, and could not have been copied from them. It is plain that the list in Nehemiah therefore could not have been the source of that in Ezra and *a fortiori* of that in Esdras A. It is not possible to copy a complete text from a mutilated and imperfect one. This seems conclusive, and it sweeps away the arguments of those who have vainly urged that the list in Nehemiah was the source of that in Ezra, and represents it in its original form. Its close resemblance to the text in Ezra, and its remoteness from that in Esdras A, points to its having been a copy of that in Ezra, which represents the text favoured at Jamnia, rather than of the more complete text from the Septuagint, preserved for us in Esdras A. On this point Smend says: "An einer Reihe von Stellen stimmt dagegen 3 Esra v mit Nehemiah vii gegen 1 Esra ii, meistens wird da der letzere Text im Unrecht sein. So wird *v.* 7. Azaria gegen Seraia durch ζαραιον geschützt, der 1 Esra ii uebergangene Nachmani durch ενηνεος. Von untergeordneter Bedeutung ist die Uebereinstimmung in der Setzung der Copula *v.* 11, 61, und in den Kleinigkeiten *v.* 45–63, wichtiger is schon, dass 3 Esra zu *v.* 26, 28, 29, die Lesart ausehe bezeugt. Ueberdies findet sich Ueberein stimmung in den Zahlen zu *v.* 15, 67." (Smend, 15 and 16.)

We will now turn to a still more striking proof that the narrative we are discussing in Nehemiah was taken from Ezra. At the end of the narrative in question in Ezra, which occupies the whole of chapter ii, we have the exordium to a fresh narrative, forming verse 1 of chapter iii, in these words, "And when the seventh month was come, and the children of Israel were in the cities," etc. If we turn to the first verse of the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, which also immediately follows the narrative in question, we have the same exordium. Thus we read: "And when the seventh month was come

the children of Israel were in the cities." What is very curious, and has been too little noticed and commented upon, however, is that these two exordia, which are alike in terms, are the prefaces to two entirely different stories in Ezra and Nehemiah.

It is quite plain that both of them cannot be right; in the one case the phrase precedes the story of Jeshua and Zerubbabel building the altar, and in the other of Ezra addressing the people. On turning to Esdras A, where the narrative occurs, as we have seen, in its natural and original place, we shall see that the exordium in question is rightly placed in regard to what follows in Ezra, and not in Nehemiah, and the only available explanation of the facts is, that the latter was taken from Ezra, and the scribe who took it over, took over a verse too many belonging to an entirely different story, and hence enabled us to trace this boulder to its original place. This is surely unanswerable.

Lastly, I would remark that the list in Nehemiah is not at all what it is stated in its exordium to be. The list has been misunderstood by those who have accepted its recension in Nehemiah for the original. It is in no sense a list of those who came up at the first, as is there stated, but of the various leaders and their followers who went back at different times. Thus it includes Zerubbabel and Jeshua. It also includes Nehemiah and Azariah, which last name is only a form of Ezra, and ought doubtless to be written Ezra here, as we can see from Esdras A. It includes also Nahamani, which, as we can see by the same appeal, is a corruption, and ought to be Hananiah, as it also reads in the Syrian version. It includes Mordecai, who is elsewhere only mentioned in the book of Esther. There is nothing "about coming up at the first" in the exordium to Ezra ii, and it clearly contemplates the list as one referring not to Zerubbabel's companions, but as comprising the various bands of emigrants, as does the list in Esdras A, thus further proving that the sophisticated copy is the one in Nehemiah, and that it has been transferred from Ezra, doubtless by the same hands who broke up and dislocated the two books in other places.

When it was taken over, it was altered in more than one place, to accommodate it to its own preface. Thus in verses 70, 71 and 72 of Nehemiah vii, where the gifts are specified, it is implied that they were given by Nehemiah and the rest of the people, that is long after the temple was built; while in the rescensions given of the same text in Ezra ii and Esdras A, 5, it is expressly stated otherwise.

The former says, "they were given for the House of God *to set it up in his place*," while in the latter it says, "they gave the gifts when they *vowed to set up the house again in his own place* according to their ability," that is to say, the gifts were made, not in the time of Nehemiah, long after the temple had been finished, but in that of Zerabbabel, when it was being built, and to supply part of the funds for building it, which is of course very much more likely.

The use and repetition of the word Tirshatha in Nehemiah vii is another proof of its having been moulded by the hands of the redactors of the Masoretic text, to whom we have traced the word in Ezra ii in the previous paper.

It was these same editors who were doubtless responsible for the interpolation in the Hebrew of Nehemiah vii, verse 70, of a clause not contained in Ezra ii, namely, "The Tirshatha gave to the Treasury a thousand darics of gold, fifty basons, five hundred and fifty priests' garments." This is confirmed from the fact that in the Greek of Nehemiah, *i.e.*, in Theodotion's version, the interpolated clause reads quite differently, namely, "and part of the heads of families gave unto the Treasury to Neemias, for the work, a thousand pieces of gold, fifty bowls, and thirty priests' garments." This clause, which is so much to the glory of the National Jewish hero of later times, Nehemiah, would hardly have been altered by the writer of Ezra ii if he had known it in the form it takes in Nehemiah, and it seems undoubtedly a subsequent interpolation, probably made when the clause was transferred. The form of the word darkemonim, in which the *m* suggests it's derivation from the Greek drachma, is another bit of evidence for its quite late date.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

BY STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*

I.

Of the importance of Semitic epigraphy it is scarcely necessary to write at length. Apart from questions relating to palaeography —and I need only mention the problem of the origin of the alphabet—we may recollect, in the first place, that the inscriptions are of particular interest because they preserve specimens of dialects of which we have otherwise no—or, at the least, very imperfect, information. The South Arabian inscriptions of the Minæans and Sabæans are of great value for the comparative study of the South Semitic dialects, and no one can claim to possess a thorough acquaintance with Hebrew or Biblical Aramaic who possesses no knowledge of Phœnician or the Nabatæan and Palmyrene inscriptions. The study of Semitic onomatology would be seriously handicapped had we not the evidence of the proper names which the inscriptions so abundantly furnish, and how important these names may be for the religion and thought of the early Semites is recognised by nearly all recent writers. Finally, as regards the archæological and historical interest of Semitic epigraphy, it will suffice merely to allude to such treasures as the Moabite stone and the Siloam inscription, and to observe that questions relating to the Sidonian dynasty, the rise of Aramæan power in North Syria, and even the theory of a North Arabian land of Muṣri (= Miṣraim), which in some cases has been wrongly taken to refer to Egypt, are only a few of the interesting points upon which Semitic inscriptions have a very important bearing.

Semitic epigraphy is rapidly coming to the fore, and the time cannot be far distant when it will be recognised that it must rank as an independent study. It is not enough to possess a working acquaintance with Hebrew, Syriac or Arabic. The aid of

Assyriology must not unfrequently be enlisted, and it is curious to remember that the so-called "Aramaic dockets," so far from serving to corroborate cuneiform readings, are sometimes so obscure that they can only be deciphered or interpreted by the help of the accompanying Assyrian contracts. Again, the Greek and Latin inscriptions from Palestine must also be consulted, since they not rarely provide us with the pronunciation of Semitic names, and from their contents enable us to clear up obscure allusions in some Semitic inscription.

Scarcely a month passes that does not bring with it the announcement of some newly-discovered Semitic inscription, or a fresh discussion of obscure passages in inscriptions that have long been known. Readers of the *Proceedings* are aware of the publication of a Hebrew biblical papyrus, the oldest known fragment of its kind,[1] also of an interesting Aramaic papyrus edited by Mr. A. E. Cowley. All readers, however, may *not* know that other Aramaic papyri, of equal value, have been lately edited by the Marquis de Vogüé and by Professor Euting, and that in one we meet with the familiar *tiphtāyē*, the "sheriffs" of Dan. iii, 2, a word whose etymology appeared so hopeless, that it had even been regarded as a corruption. Most have heard of the remarkable Zenjirli inscriptions, but few, perhaps, are aware of a fragment of the time of Shalmaneser II, which is valuable not only by reason of its great age, but also because it explains a doubtful phrase in the "building-inscription" of Bar-rekub.

I propose in these pages to contribute occasional notes upon Semitic epigraphy generally. Some of these will bear upon the subjects already referred to above, others will relate to philological details, and in one instance (§ 1 below) the material will consist of a photograph of a well-known Egyptian stele with an Aramaic inscription, of which previous copies were wanting in accuracy. Finally, attention will be paid to unedited inscriptions—two or three of which have already been placed in my hands—and for this purpose the Secretary has kindly promised to forward to me any squeezes, photographs, or drawings which he may receive.[2] Even when an

[1] See *Proceedings*, January, 1903. This treasure, now called after its donor, the "Nash Papyrus," has found a resting-place in the University Library, Cambridge.

[2] It is desirable that in every case it should be stated where and when the inscription in question was found,

inscription proves too obscure, there is always the possibility that, by publishing it, others may be able to suggest a probable reading, or interpretation.

1. EGYPTIAN SLAB WITH ARAMAIC LETTERING (*see* Plate).—The so-called *Stela Saltiana* was acquired by Henry Salt in Egypt, and first appears to be mentioned by Giovanni d'Athanasi, *Brief Account of Discoveries in Egypt, etc.* (London, 1836), in the "Catalogue of Mr. Salt's Collections," p. 185, No. 429 (reproduced on tab. iv).[1] It was again reproduced by Gesenius, *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta* (Leipsic, 1837), tab. 29; *cf.* p. 232 sq., No. lxxii, and again by Professor Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue Archéologique*, vol. xxxvii, p. 34 (1879), who designates it *La Stèle Forman*. It would seem that at Salt's sale it was bought by the poet Rogers, and thence, after passing to Mr. Charles Forman, and to his sister, Mrs. Burt, of Dorking, it ultimately was sold by auction last year (1902). The slab has already found a place in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Aramaic division (part II), No. 143, with a plate on tab. xiv, and since in no instance are the reproductions entirely trustworthy, it has seemed desirable to present a photographic representation (which I owe to Mr. Nash) from the original stone.

As regards the inscription, the final character has a minute tail (imperceptible on the photograph), and at first sight one might be tempted to read שמרהך. The heads of ד and ר are always, with rare exceptions, closed in Phœnician inscriptions, whereas in Aramaic they begin to open about 700 B.C. But for several reasons it is clear that the lettering on the *Stele Saltiana* is Aramaic, and under these circumstances the only possible reading, as all previous editors agree, is שמיתי. The script agrees generally with the Egyptian-Aramaic forms illustrated in *Proceedings*, 1903, Plate III, col. 1, facing p. 56, and is a later development of the Old Aramaic forms reproduced by Mr. Pilcher in *Proceedings*, 1897, Plate II, cols. 1–3, facing p. 172. The closest resemblance is found in the Carpentras stele (*C.I.S.* ii, 141),[2] where, too, the י has not only the same triangular shape, but

[1] Mr. Nash points out that the drawing is by no means correct, as can be seen by comparing it with the photograph; the artist in his drawing has finished details which the sculptor had left incomplete.

[2] Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, pp. xviii–xx (with plate); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemit. Epig.*, p. 448 and Tafel xxviii; G. A. Cooke, *Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, no. 75.

W.L.N.

STELA SALTIANA.

Photographed from the original.

also a slight tail, and on palæographical grounds it is not improbable that the two inscriptions are contemporary. For the dating of Egyptian-Aramaic documents we have the stele of Saḳḳârah (W. of Memphis) dated in the fourth year of Xerxes, *i.e.*, B.C. 482 (*C.I.S.* ii, 122), and the Aramaic papyrus recently edited by Professor Euting, belonging to the fourteenth year of Darius (II, Nothus), *i.e.*, B.C. 411–410.[1] Our inscription is certainly later than these, and Maspero has even ascribed it to the second century B.C. This, however, appears too late, and (unless there are objections from the Egyptological standpoint) there seems to be no good reason why, like the Carpentras stele, it should not be a couple of centuries older.

It is very difficult to determine the interpretation of שמיתי. There is little doubt that, like the inscription upon the stele *C.I.S.* ii. 142, it is the name of the deceased, but whether Semitic or Egyptian (as in No. 142)[2] is by no means clear. In the Phœnician inscriptions from Egypt we find among the Semitic names, מנחם, גרא, עזרבעל (and other compounds of בעל), בדא, צדיתן; Egyptian, on the other hand, appears in פעלאבסת, עבדפתח, &c. In the Aramaic, אביטב, עזיזו, גדנבו, נבונדר, אחרחיב, שלם, אבסלי, אבה, and probably בנת, חור, and שחרמו are Semitic;[3] whilst Egyptian forms appear in צחא, אסמן, תבא, תחפי, סתמו, פטרנפש, אסרונפר, פטמון (and other compounds of פט). Unless any Egyptian derivation of שמיתי can be suggested, it seems best to look for Semitic analogies, in which case it is open to connect the name with the Nabatæan שמית, *C.I.S.* ii, 205, l. 3 (reading uncertain), and שמתו, ii, 414. The Greek *σομαιαθη* (Waddington, 2257, cp. 2308) probably represents a root with a guttural for the third letter, and is therefore out of the question.

[1] *Notice sur un papyrus Égypto-Araméen de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Strasbourg* (Paris, 1903).

[2] The name is ʿAnḫ-ḥapi son of Ta-ḥabis.

[3] Cp. also *Proceedings*, 1903, pp. 259–263.

NOTES ON THE XIXTH AND XXTH DYNASTIES.

By Prof. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *D.C.L., F.R.S., &c.*

In making some very brief notes of new considerations about this period, I wish to say that it is fruitless to criticise them in this form, as necessarily the arguments cannot be stated fully here. These notes are only to help students with suggestions, and not to defend the positions proposed, for which there is often much more to be said, which will appear in my "History."

Maat-neferu-ra.—The Egyptian name of this Hittite princess has hitherto only been taken in its literal meaning; but as it is the name of the last hour of the night, the young princess had the poetical name of "Dawn."

Libyan Invasion under Merenptah.—The gathering of the Libyans was in March; the news of the invasion came in the beginning of April; the invaders came in touch with the Egyptians on the 25th April, and the battle was 27th April. They had timed the invasion to seize the ripe crops, as wheat harvest begins 2nd May in the Delta. The battle was not in the oasis, as has been suggested, as after the king fled the frontier garrisons sent back news of his flight past them. Brugsch was then right about Prosopis; and the strategy of Merenptah was excellent. He waited for the Libyans at the point where cultivation west of the Nile ceases; they could not advance without crossing the river. He then let two days pass for them to assemble, so as to give a crushing defeat. And then he began by the archers slaying the enemy for six hours, and after they were thus disorganised, and trying to avoid the Egyptians, he let loose the swordsmen and chariots. This was exactly the tactics of another aged general against a barbarian host, Narses at the slaughter of the Frankish host at Casilinum.

The Libyan Alliance.—As we must recognise the *-sha* termination as ethnic, the names were the Aqayua, Turi, Leku, Shardena,

and Shaklu, allied to the Lebu and Mashaua. The Mashaua, all agree, are the Maxyes in southern Tunisia; see also Maxulæ near Carthage. It is therefore in that region that we ought first to look for the other names.

The Sikeli were only a day's sail from Tunis, in Sicily, and the Sardini less than two days' sail away in Sardinia. There is no reason whatever for looking a week's journey distant in Asia Minor, to the inland Sagalassos to account for the first name. Sicily and Sardinia are the next lands to the Maxyan region. May not the Aqayua be seen in the names Agbia behind Carthage, Agabis (22° E.), and El Aghwat (3° E.)? There is nothing to show that they were not a Libyan tribe.

The Leku are, of course, Lykians. But the Turi "of the sea" have not been certainly identified. May they not be a sea folk who left their name at Thyrea and Tyros in E. Lakonia, Thera, and Tylissos in Crete? The Mashaua, Turi, and Shaklu, are all of the same type of face on the sculptures of Medinet Habu; probably all Algerine corsairs.

Close of the XIXth Dynasty.—The monuments suffice to absolutely prove the generally accepted order, Sety II, Amenmeses, Tausert, Siptah, and Set-nekht. The stele (*Denk. III*, 201 c.) re-used by Siptah, cannot have been cut by Sety I, as has been said, because the king on it adores Sety I and Ramessu II as gods. We must then conclude that Amenmeses by a bad pun changed his cartouche from ⊙ to ⊙ during his brief reign. Now Sety II was heir of Merenptah. His wife was Takhat, as shown on his statue in Cairo. He was probably born about 1270 B.C.; and in 1247 B.C. a princess Takhat is named as one of the last known daughters of Ramessu II. It is probable therefore that Sety II married his aunt, who was younger than himself. And the mother of Amenmeses was Takhat, whom we must suppose to be the same queen.

Amenmeses, in the stele referred to above, states that he was brought up at Kheb (El Heybeh); and (as Eisenlohr showed) Siptah takes the name "rising in Kheb." Probably the crown prince Sety lived there, and his sons grew up at Kheb.

In Tausert's tomb below Siptah's name are traces of a name which can only be that of Sety II. She, then, was associated with Sety II as a queen, yet never named "royal mother;" and so there-

fore his daughter, not wife. Setnekht was a son of Sety II apparently, by the royal genealogy of Ramessu III.

Thus the family history and feud was much like that of Tahutmes I and his children. Sety II adopted Tausert as his heiress and co-regent, and she began her tomb as such. On his death Amenmeses, his son, seized the power. Tausert got a Delta man Bay (see *Ba neb daddu*) to come and upset Amenmeses and put up Siptah, who agreed to share the throne; and the tomb of Amenmeses was erased. After the death of Siptah she reigned alone (see Cairo ostrakon) like Hatshepsut. But the whole land was so disorganised by these feuds, that the third brother Setnekht took the reins, and, with his vigorous young son Ramessu III, set affairs in order. By the chronology deduced from the royal nativities we reach B.C. 1203 as the close of Tausert, and Africanus set her at 1198 by his reckoning of the Trojan war. Thus our present dating is practically that of the uncorrupted and complete text of Manetho.

The sons of Ramessu III.—Sethe has endeavoured to show that the list of princes at Medinet Habu begins with the son of Ramessu III, and goes on with the family of Ramessu IV. His main reason is that a Pa-ra-her-amif is known as eldest son of Ramessu III; and yet the same name comes far on in the list of princes, and so cannot refer to the same person. But this name is put next after the princes who had reigned at the time of carving the list, a very probable position if he had died as heir apparent. Also he is followed by Mentu-her-khepshef, whose tomb is among the kings' tombs, only just begun, showing that he too had been an heir who died before coming to the throne. The other reason given for dividing the princes, is that the mother of Ramessu VI is not called royal wife, in the portions of her tomb that remain; but there are other instances of partial titles, which show that this is not conclusive. Against any divisions of the list of princes into two families there is the obvious equality of treatment of the whole row bearing similar titles. And when we look into the genealogy, there is but 120 years (1318–1198 B.C.) between the nativities of Ramessu II and VI. This will do well enough for five generations, with one of them a 13th son, another a third son, and another a second son, leaving thus about 20 or 22 years to an eldest son generation. But if we require an additional generation by taking Ramessu VI as a grandson of Ramessu III (as Sethe does), it would make the generations shorter than any series known. Hence it

seems far more likely that the whole row of princes at Medinet Habu are sons of Ramessu III.

Now Erman had pointed out that not only those with cartouches had reigned, but that some of the other names farther on in the list agree to later Ramessides. I see no reason why the whole series should not be the kings of this dynasty. The beginning of the dynasty is well fixed, and the end cannot run on as far as Maspero suggests, because of the XXIst dynasty and the date of Shishak. Hence there is no difficulty in the following equivalents for the princes after those with cartouches:—

List of Princes.	*Kings.*
Mery Atmu	Mery Atmu.
Kha.em.uas	Kha.em.uas, R. X.
Amen.her.khepshef	Amen.her.khepshef, R. XI.
Mery.Amen.	Mery.Amen, R. XII.

And the presumptive ages will not exceed the following years, and may easily have been less:—

	Born.	Age.	Acceded.	Reign.	Died.	Age.
Ramessu III	1224	22	1202	32	1170	54
Pa.ra.her.amif	1204	—	—	—	1180 ?	24 ?
Mentu.her.khepshef ...	1202	—	—	—	1175 ?	27 ?
Ramessu IV	1200	29	1171	6	1165	35
,, V	1180	15	1165	4	1161	19
,, VI	1198	37	1161	5 ?	1156	42
,, VII	1196	40	1156	1 ?	1155	41
,, VIII	1194	39	1155	1 ?	1154	40
Mery Atmu	1192	38	1154	?	1154	38
Ramessu IX	—	—	1154	1 ?	1153	—
,, X	1190	37	1153	19	1134	56
,, XI	1188	53	1135	6	1129	59
,, XII	1186	57	1129	27	1102	84

Rise of the Priest Kings.—The unnatural arrangement of a long series of brothers succeeding in this way can be explained when we look to the rise of the priest-kings. So far as we can glean from the dates of the high priests, Amenhetep was probably born about 1190, and it was he therefore who apparently married Aset, the daughter and heiress of Ramessu VI, at about 1160 or 1156 B.C. During her father's life she must have been young by the family history, and yet she was married, and Divine wife of Amen, before his death (Koptos stele). What had led to such a marriage was

Amenhetep being tutor to the princes and familiar at court. (MARIETTE, *Karnak*, 40, 1). Looking to the order of events, the young son of the high priest, born about 1190, becomes court tutor about 1710 B.C., and by 1160 or so he marries the daughter and heiress of the king. Such a marriage gave his children royal rights; and though doubtless the king's brothers might give assent only on condition that their rights were not impaired, yet Amenhetep would take good care that the succession should not slip away to their children. This title of Aset as Divine wife of Amen, and Divine Adoress, has been overlooked historically till now; but it clearly implies that she was married to the high priest, as these titles do in the series of later queens from this time on; and it clearly legitimated the succession of the XXIst dynasty. Herhor then had the full royal rights which he claimed.

The Libyan alliance against Ramessu III.—The names in this alliance of tribes have not yet been identified beyond the Mashaua and the Lebu—Maxyes and Libyans. On searching the whole region of North Africa in ancient geography, five out of the seven other names are all found closely together to the west of the Maxyes, and the sixth may lie some 500 miles west of these. None of the names can be equally well identified with any other positions; and hence the close grouping of them is a strong evidence that the classical equivalents, which are only some 600 or 800 years later than this war, really show the position of the tribes. It is possible that the whole body of tribes had drifted westward together; but as they were a large body of people with flocks and herds, they are more likely to have belonged to a considerable region such as Algiers and Tunis, than to the scanty belt of cultivation of Cyrenaica.

The connections of the names are as follows:—

TAMAHU	Tama-suna, 4° 40′ E.; Tama-nnunu, 5°; Tama-gada, *Timgad*, 6½°.
LEBU	Libyca, lake 8°–9°.
SUPDU, SABATU	Suptu, 6½°; Tubu-suptus, 4° 50′.
MASHAUA	Maxyes of S. Tunisia, 9°–10°.
BURERU	Bararus, 10° 40′; Bure, 9° 20′.
SHAYTEP	Sitifis, *Setif*, 5½°.
HASA	Auzia, 3° 40′; Ouaza-gada, 5½°, etc.
BAQANA	Bokanon, 6° W., near Fez.

The Zakkaru—These people in the Syrian alliance have been

supposed to belong to Cyprus. But the name strongly suggests Zakro at the eastern end of Crete.

The Harris papyrus.—The motive of this papyrus has not been hitherto explained; yet the statements about it seem tolerably clear. The king states that he addresses all the gods and goddesses. He then recites all that he had done for the gods. And lastly, that on that date, Epiphi 6, he is going down to the underworld, and every power and right of his belongs to his son, toward whom every man and god must act as they have done to Ramessu III. This can only mean that this is the justificatory speech of the king, for him to recite in the judgment of Osiris, stating his claims to the favour of the gods on every ground that he could name. One collateral evidence of this is in the dates. If the papyrus is dated on the day it states, when Ramessu III descended to the underworld, then from his death on Epiphi 6 to the coronation of his son on Thoth 15 there elapsed 73 days; and this just allows for the 70 or 72 days of the embalming and mourning, and the day of burying. Thus there was an interregnum of court mourning before the coronation of a new king, which agrees with what we know to have been the funereal custom long before and long after this date. In the first dynasty an interregnum of 45 days is shown by the dates on the Palermo stone.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C., on Wednesday, February 10th, 1904, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Dr. Pinches : "Sapatu, the Babylonian Sabbath"

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

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——— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
——— La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
——— La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte.
AMIAUD, A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Compare des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
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" " Griechische und Koptische Urkunden.
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	,, Subscriptions—		
	For the Year 1903, less returned £1 1s....	359 18 10	358 17 10
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	,, Secretary	0 0 0
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S. A. COOK.
E. J. PILCHER.

37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.,
January 6th, 1904.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1904.

Second Meeting, 10*th February*, 1904.

F. D. MOCATTA, *F.S.A.*, VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

OBITUARY.

January, 1904.—S. A. STRONG.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author, the Rev. C. Boutflower.—"The Chaldeans of the Book of Daniel"—and "Chaldean Princes on the throne of Babylon."

From the Author, M. G. Legrain.—"The Great Stele of Amenhotep II at Karnak."

From the Author, the Rev. Dr. Löwy.—"A critical examination of the so-called Moabite Inscription in the Louvre."

From the Author, Dr. Pinches.—"The Old Testament in the light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia." 2nd edition.

From the Author, Prof. Dr. A Wiedeman.—"Die Rassen im Alten Ägypten."

From the Author, Dr. Oscar von Lemm.—"Das Triadon" and "Der Alaxanderroman bei den Kopten."

The following Candidates for Membership were elected :—

E. H. Williams, Junr., Andover, Mass., U.S.A.
J. Thin, 54, South Bridge, Edinburgh.

The following Paper was read :—

Dr. Pinches : "Sapattu, the Babylonian Sabbath."

The Paper was discussed by Sir H. H. Howorth, Dr. Deiches, Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. Rouse, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Tuckwell, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned to Dr. Pinches.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L.*, *&c.*

(*Continued from page* 16.)

CHAPTER CLXXII.

Beginning of the Chapter of reciting the ceremonies made in the Netherworld.

(1) . . . . . with *bet* incense, I inhale the smell of natron and incense . . . . . I have been purified . . . . . through the sacred utterances coming out of my mouth. I am pure verily . . . . . of the fishes in the river, towards the statue in the house of purification; they are pure the words of *N.*

Blessed be thou, *N.*, thou art well pleasing to Ptah, well pleasing to Anebefres, well pleasing to all gods, well pleasing to all goddesses. Thy beauties are like a quiet stream, like the choicest water; thy beauties are like a festival hall in which everyone exalts his god; thy beauties are like the pillars of Ptah, like the shoots of the *maut* (2) plant of Rā. *N.* is the pillar of Ptah and the ewer of Anebefres.

O (3) thou who art called aloud, thou who art called aloud, thou the lamented, thou art glorified, thou art exalted, thou art glorious, thou art strong.

O thou who art raised up, thou art raised up, *N.* has been raised up by means of all the manifold ceremonies done to him; thy enemies are struck down; Ptah has struck down thine enemies, thou art victorious and thou hast dominion over them. Thy words are listened to, what thou hast ordered is done, thou art raised, thou art triumphant before (4) the Circles of gods attached to every god and every goddess.

O thou who art called aloud (*bis*), second verse. Thy head is . . . . . woven by a woman from Asia; thy face shines brighter than the moon; the top of thy head is lapis blue; thy hair is darker than the doors of the Tuat, thy hair is black like the night; thy forehead is adorned of blue; the rays of Ḥorus are on thy face. Thy garments are of gold; Horus has decked them with blue; thy

eyebrows, the two sisters joined together; Horus has adorned them with blue; thy nose inhales the perfume of . . . . . and thy nostrils are like the winds in the sky.

Thy eyes are the seers of the hill of Bachau, thy upper eyelids are enduring for ever; their lashes are of real lapis; thy pupils are pleasant gifts, and thy lower eyelids are painted with antimony.

Thy lips utter for thee words of truth, they repeat the words of truth of Rā which are well pleasing to the gods. Thy teeth are the two heads of the serpent by which the two gods are seized, thy tongue is voluble; thy voice is more shrill than that of the bird in the marshes; thy ears (?) are well established at their place, they go (with thee) to the land of Amenta.

O thou who art called aloud (*bis*), third verse. Thy neck is adorned with gold, it is girt with electron; (5) thy throat and thy lungs are like Anubis; (6) thy backbone is like the Uat' goddesses; thy back is lined with gold and girt with electron; thy loins (7) are like Nephthys . . . . . (8) is a Nile which is flowing. Thy buttocks are two eggs of crystal, thy legs are well fastened for walking, thou art sitting in thy place . . . . . thou hast received from the gods thy two eyes.

O thou who art called aloud (*bis*), fourth verse.

Thy throat is like Anubis, thy limbs are necklaces made of gold; thy breasts are two eggs of crystal which Horus has painted blue, thy forearms are adorned with topaz, thy shoulders are well established on their base; thy heart is happy every day, thy whole heart is the work of the two divine Powers, thy body worships the stars of the gods above and below; for thy belly is like a calm sky, and thy bowels are the Tuat which nobody can fathom, and which sends out light in the dark night; its offerings are eatable plants.

He (*N.*) praiseth the Majesty of Thoth, saying: the desires of his beautiful person take place in my tomb; as my god commanded me. Every pure thing he loves is there.

O thou who art called aloud (*bis*), fifth verse.

Thy thighs are a pond in a time of abundant inundation; a pond which is lined by the children of the god of water; thy legs which go to and fro are of gold; thy knees are lentisks in the marshes; they feet are firm every day; thy shin-bones lead thee on the right path.

Thy arms are pillars on their bases; thy fingers are . . . . of gold; their nails are like knives of flint in what they do for thee.

O thou who art called aloud (*bis*) . . . .

Thou puttest on the pure garment and thou divestest thy apron when thou stretchest thyself on the funereal bed; haunches are cut for thy *ka*, and a heart is offered unto thy mummy. Thou receivest a bandage of the finest linen from the hands of the attendant (9) of Rā; thou eatest on thy resting couch bread which has been baked by the fire goddess herself; thou eatest the haunch, thou seizest the meat which has been prepared by Rā in his holy place; thou washest thy feet in silver basins made by the skilful artist Sokaris; thou eatest bread placed on the altar, and prepared by the holy fathers, thou livest upon baked cakes and hot drinks from the store-house; thou inhalest the smell of flowers; thy heart is not reluctant at the sight of offerings; thy ministrants make for thee the loaves and the cakes of the Powers of Heliopolis; and they themselves bring thee the sacred things; thy offerings have been chosen for thee; and thy ordinances are in the gates of the Great Dwelling; thou risest like Sahu and thou arrivest like the morning star; Nut stretches forth her arms towards thee; Sahu, the son of Rā, and Nut, the mother of the gods, the two great gods of the sky, they speak one to another saying: Take him in thy arms; I have brought in my arms the form of *N.* in the happy day when he is glorified, when his memory is recorded, when he is in the mouth of all generations.

Thou, raised one, thou hearest how thou art glorified throughout all thy house.

O thou who . . . . . seventh verse.

Anubis has given him his shroud; he has done all that pleased him; the high-priest has prepared his ribbon; for he is the provider (?) of the great god; thou goest and washest thyself in the lake of Perfection, thou makest offerings in the house of the gods of the sky, and thou propitiatest the lord of Heliopolis; thou receivest the water of Rā in ewers, and milk in large vases.

O thou raised one, thou makest offerings on the altar, and thou washest thy feet upon the stone of . . . . . , on the banks of the divine lake; thou comest forth and thou seest Rā upon the four pillars which are the arms of the sky; on the head of Anmutef, and on the arms of Apuat who opens for thee the path; thou seest the horizon where are all the sacred things which thou desirest.

O thou who are called aloud (*bis*), eighth verse.

All the good things have been spread out for thee, before Rā. Thou hast a beginning and thou hast an end as Horus and Thoth have ordered for thee. They call upon *N.*, they see how he is

glorious, they give him to come forth like a god to meet the Powers of Heliopolis. Thou journeyest on the great path as thy mummy has received the sacred things from thy father; thy hands are wrapped in linen every day; the beginning of the journey of the god is at the gate of the Great Dwelling,

O thou who art called aloud (*bis*), ninth verse.

N. Breatheth the air for his nose and for his nostrils, he receiveth a thousand geese and sixty baskets of all things good and pure; thy enemies have been struck down; they are no more.

NOTES.

This Chapter is taken from papyrus London 9900 *Aa*. It has no vignette, the translation here given is that which I published in 1873 (*Zeitschrift*, 1873, pp. 25 and 81), with a few changes.

1. Lacunæ.

2. Perhaps the which M. Loret has identified as being the celery (*Recueil*, Vol. XVI, p. 4).

3. Here begins a hymn, the first words of which are "O thou who art called aloud," repeated twice. These words have become the name of the hymn, as we say the *Magnificat* or the *Te Deum*. The hymn is divided into nine fragments or verses, (Renouf, *Life Work*, Vol. II, p. 390).

4. Renouf's translation. See Chapter 18, § 10. Rather than *before*, I should translate, *through the action of*.

5. "Electron" is Lepsius's translation. Renouf, who translates "copper," has discussed the point in a letter to Lepsius (*Life Work*, Vol. II, p. 2).

6. I believe this means made of black metal, probably silver, blackened by some chemical process.

7. Papyrus Ebers "foramen ani, rectum."

8. The text has here an evident blunder. We should read here the phallus.

9. Brugsch, *Dict. Suppl.*, p. 1021, translates *aati*, "Bettenmacher."

CHAPTER CLXXIII.

The addresses of Horus to his father when he goes in to see his father, and when he comes out of his great sanctuary to see him Rā Unneferu, the master of Ta-tser, and then they embrace one another; therefore he is glorious in the Netherworld.

Hail, Osiris; I am thy son Horus; I have come. (1)

I have avenged (thee).

I have struck down thy enemies.

I have destroyed all that was wrong in thee.

I have killed him who assailed thee.

I stretched forth my hand for thee against thy adversaries.

I have brought thee the companions of Sut with chains upon them.

I have brought thee the land of the South, I have added to thee the land of the North.

I have settled for thee the divine offerings from the North and the South.

I have ploughed for thee the fields.

I have irrigated for thee thy land.

I have hoed for thee the ground.

I have built for thee ponds of water.

I have turned up the soil of thy possessions.

I have made there for thee sacrifices of thy adversaries.

I have made sacrifices for thee of thy cattle and thy victims.

I have supplied there in abundance . . . .

I have brought thee . . . .

I have sacrificed for thee . . . .

I have shot for thee antelopes and bulls.

I have plucked for thee geese and waterfowl.

I have bound thy enemies in their chains.

I have fettered thy enemies with their ropes.

I have brought thee from Elephantine the fresh water which refreshes thy heart.

I have brought thee all the plants.

I have settled for thee on the earth all thy subsistence as to Rā.

I have made for thee bread at Pu with red grain.

I have made for thee drink at Tepu with white grain.

I have ploughed for thee wheat and barley in the Field of Aarru.
I have mowed them there for thee.
I have glorified thee.
I have given thee thy soul.
I have given thee thy power.
I have given thee . . . .
I have given thee . . . .
I have given thee the dread which thou inspirest.
I have given thee thy bravery.
I have given thee thy two eyes, the two plumes which are on thy head.
I have given thee Isis and Nephthys, they are placed on thee.
I have anointed thee with the offering of holy oil.
I have brought thee the offering by which thy face is destroyed. (2)

Notes.

This Chapter is taken also from London 9900. The vignette at the end represents Osiris sitting in a naos. Before him are the offerings of fowl and cattle which Horus presents to his father. At the beginning the deceased is seen, with raised arms; he is supposed to be Horus, and above him are written the following words:—"Adoration to Osiris, Khenta Amenta, the great god, the lord of Abydos, king for ever, prince of eternity, the venerable god in Restau, pronounced by *N.*, I give thee grain, lord of the gods, the one god who liveth on justice. I am thy son Horus. I have come to thee. I avenge thee, I bring to thee Maat, to the place where is the circle of thy gods. Grant me to be among thy followers, and to smite thy enemies. I have established for thee thy food offerings on the earth for ever."

This Chapter was first published and translated in the *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XIII, p. 83.

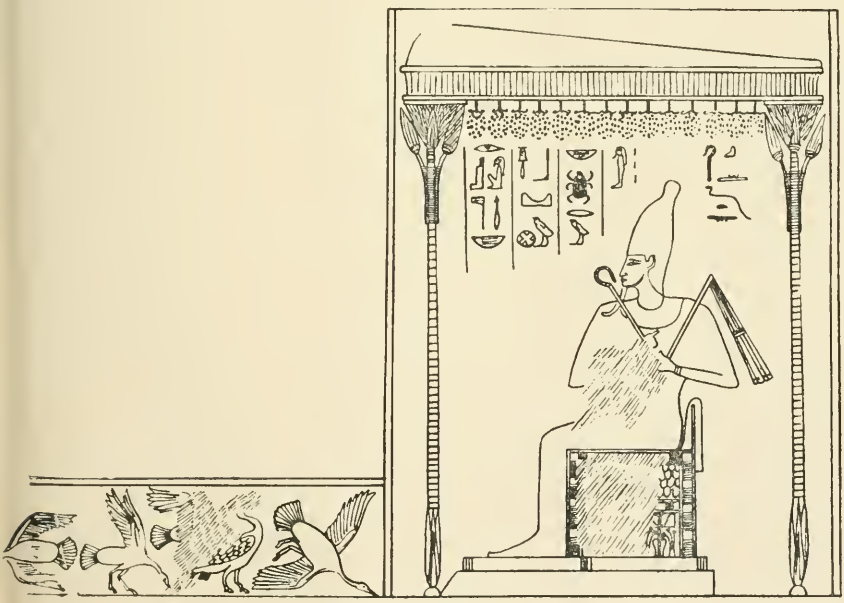
1. These words are repeated before every one of the following sentences.

2. This sentence is abridged. It is given in full by the Ritual at Abydos: "I have anointed thy head with the oil of the brow of Horus; if it is destroyed there (on his brow) he is destroyed as god; *i.e.*, his divinity is destroyed."

(*To be continued.*)

PLATE LVIII

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER CLXXIII, *A. a.*

SAPATTU, THE BABYLONIAN SABBATH.

By Theophilus G. Pinches, *LL.D.*

As a considerable amount of discussion has been aroused in consequence of Professor Delitzsch's remarks upon the sabbath in Babylonia, it may not be without interest to the Members of this Society to know what the tablets which I have been able to examine say upon the subject, and upon the Babylonian days of the month in general.

The Assyro-Babylonian word for Sabbath, namely, *šapattu* or *šabattu*, has been known to scholars for many years, and the explanation, "day of rest for the heart" (the translation of *ûm nûḫ libbi*), has been frequently quoted. The referring of this word and its explanation to the 7th, 14th, 19th (the "week of weeks," from the first day of the preceding month), 21st, and 28th days of each month, which are described in the hemerologies as being unsuitable for work, was a most natural thing to do, and the parallel, though not perfect, became sufficiently striking. It is true that these five days were not described as "sabbaths," but as "evil days"—*u(d)-ḫulgallu* or *ûmu limnu*—that is, days upon which it was wrong for the "shepherd of the great peoples" and others to do certain things which are enumerated[1]—but the probability that they would turn out to be identical with the Babylonian sabbaths was very strong.

As yet, however, their identity with them has not been established. The lists which give explanations of the names of the days of the month do not render *u(d)-ḫul-gal* by *šapattu* or *šabattu*, as will be seen from the fragmentary text[2] appended to this paper (see Plate).

[1] See the translation of the text referring to the 7th day, p. 52.

[2] A portion of it is published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. III, pl. 56, No. 4. Additions to this copy were identified by the writer in 1889, and duplicate fragments from Babylonia subsequently.

From this it would appear, that the Sumero-Akkadians numbered their days straight on from 1 to 30 (as did also the Babylonians in business-documents), substituting for the 19th day the expression "day 20th less 1." The Semites of Babylonia, on the other hand called the 9th day *batti* (*ûmu*), the 10th *êkiṣṭi* (*ûmu*), the 15th *šapattu* (*-ti*), the 19th *ibbû*, and the 25th *árḫu bat*[*ti*?], to which I have given provisional renderings in the extract. Lines 18 to 28, however, show that both sections of the population of ancient Babylonia had specific names for certain days, like the *bubbulu* of line 18, which was the designation of the 28th, 29th, and also, according to the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. IV, pl. 23, lines 3 and 4, of the 30th day of the month, which was sacred, seemingly, to Nusku (*ilu Ê-barra-dudu*, *dumu ú eša-kam*, *ú na-am* = *Nusku, mâr šalašê*, *bubbulum*, "Nusku, the son of the 30th day, the rest-day" or "day of desire"). The 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days, as has been already stated, were the *ûḫulgallu* or *ûmu limnu* of the hemerologies, concerning which the directions were as follows:—

"The 7th day is a fast[3] of Merodach and Zir-panitum, a fortunate day, an evil day.[4] The shepherd of the great peoples shall not eat flesh cooked by fire, which is smoked (?), he shall not change the dress of his body, he shall not put on white, he shall not make an offering. The king shall not ride in his chariot, the priestess shall not declare (a divine decision), in secret spot a seer shall not make (an oracle), a physician shall not lay his hand on a sick man, (the day) is unsuitable for doing business. The king shall bring his offering, in the night, before Merodach and Ištar, he shall make a sacrifice. His prayer is acceptable with god."

The hemerologies published in the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, second edition, state that the 4th day is an *ûmu êšêšu*[5] of Nebo and Merodach, the 8th of Nebo only, and the 17th of Nebo and his consort Tašmêtu; the 19th is described as *ibbû*,[6] with the addition "of Gula," or "Bau;" the 22nd is called *isinnu ša Nin-ê-gala*, "a festival of the Lady of the house," the 23rd of Šamaš and Hadad, and the 24th of the Lord of the

[3] *Nubattu.*

[4] Evil probably on account of the prohibitions, disobedience to which would have brought misfortune.

[5] *Cf.* the list above, line 25.

[6] List, l. 14: "day 20th less 1." *i.e.*, the 19th.

house and the Lady of the house (*En-ê-gala u Nin-ê-gala*).[7] It is the last three days of the month, which are designated by the term *bubbulu* or its non-Semitic equivalent *û-na-am*,[8] the 28th being the desirable day of Nergal in the intercalary Elul, and of Hadad in Marcheswan; the 29th the same of the moon. Several more terms occur, describing other days of the month, among them being *nubattu* (the 3rd, the 7th, and the 16th, all of which are dedicated to Merodach and his consort Zir-panitum). Whether this be the same word as the *battu* (*batti*) of lines 11 and 16 of the list is doubtful, though it is worthy of note that both are formed by means of the root *bat*, which also occurs in *ša-bat*, and, according to the explanation of *šapattu* ("heart-rest"), implies a day of cessation from something or other. Whether the prefixed *nu* in *nubattu* be the non-Semitic negation or not, is uncertain, the particle certainly had other meanings. How far it was a synonym of *ûmu idirti*, "day of mourning," also remains to be determined.

In connection with the names of the days of the Babylonian month printed in the list which forms the subject of this paper, the following extract from S. A. Smith's "Miscellaneous Texts," pl. XVII, line 24–XVIII, line 4[9], is noteworthy:—

(a) ^{ilu}Amurrū, ^{ilu}Ilu-Amurrū, naš[10] gamli[11] bandudue[12] mullilu[13] muššipu

(b) ^{ilu}Reš[14](?) šamê û êrṣitim, ûmu, ârḫu, u šattu, nubatti[15], ûmu êšêšu, ûmu sib'u, ûmu ḫamiššēru, ûmu mana-gi-lal-kam,

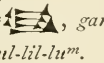
(c) ûmu êšrû, ûmu êšrâ ḫamšû, ûmu bubbulu[16] ûmu rimki,[17] ûmu limnu, ûmu šelašû, aran-ka, mamit-ka,

[7] *Isinnu* is given in the list, line 24.

[8] List, line 18. The 28th and 29th are called *bubbulu* in the hemerologies, and the 30th in *W.A.I.*, IV, 23, lines 3 and 4 (see above). The general opinion seems to be, that the word refers to the days when the moon is new, at which period the Babylonians desired its re-appearance. As, however, *bubbulu* is used in connection with Nergal, Hadad, and Nusku, as well as the moon, there is just the possibility, that it was a day of desire as a rest-day simply, and that is the rendering provisionally adopted here.

[9] Translated by Zimmern in his *Beiträge zur Kentniss der Babylonischen Religion*, I: *Die Beschwörungs-tafeln Šurpu*, pp. 42, 43.

[10] Var. , *naši*.

[11] Var.  , *gamli*.

[12] The duplicate omits the , *e*.

[13] Var. *mul-lil-lu*^{m}.

[14] .

[15] Var. *nu-bat-tu*^{m}.

[16] omitted.

[17] , var. (if my copy be correct).

(d) ḫiṭṭt-ka, ḫablat-ka, niš-ka, muruṣ[18]-ka, taniḫ-ka,[19] kišpu, ruḫû[20], rusû[20],

(e) upšašū limnuti ša amēlūti[21] ša ana bîti-ka, ana zērî-ka, ana pir'i-ka

(f) ittanabšû, ittanapriku, ittananmaru

(g) lû-paṭranikka lû-pašranikka, lû-passanikka.

(*a*) "*The god Amurrū, the god Ilu-Amurrū, who bear the liberating wand* (?) *: the purifying priest, the incantor,* (*and*)

(*b*) *the divine chief* (?) *of heaven and earth : day, month, and year : fast, day of tabernacles* (?), *7th day, 15th day, 20th day less* 1,

(*c*) *20th day, 25th day, rest-day,*[22] *libation day, evil day,* (*and*) *30th day ;* (*from*) *thy sin, thy curse,*

(*d*) *thy failing, thy misdeed, thy* (*evil*) *spirit, thy suffering, thy groaning,* (*from*) *sorcery, witchcraft, enchantment,* (*and*)

(*e*) *evil tricks of* (*evil*) *men, which against thee, against thy house, against thy seed, against thine offspring*

(*f*) *constantly enter, break in, flash in,*

(*g*) *may they loose thee, may they save thee, may they free thee.*"

The 7th day is here referred to because it was the first, and therefore the most important, of the "evil days" of the month, the 15th because it was the Sapattu, the 19th because it was the week of weeks from the 1st of the preceding month, the 20th because it was a sacred day of the Sungod (see the *Proceedings* for December, 1896, p. 258) and the Moongod, the 25th because it was the festival-month (?), and the 30th because it was the last day of the month, and also one of the festivals. The *nubattu*, which I have provisionally rendered "the fast" simply, is not mentioned in the bilingual list of days, but it is explained in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 32, lines 12, 13, along with (*ûm k?*)*ispi* and

[18] Duplicate : 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹, *muruṣ*.

[19] The duplicate inserts 𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹.

[20] 𒁹𒁹𒁹 for 𒁹 in each case.

[21] Var. 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹, *ameluttu*^{m} *limnūtu ša mušāti* . . . . "evil men of the nights (?) . . . ." The duplicate inserts an extra line between *d* and *e* : 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹

ûm îdirti, "day of mourning," as being equivalent to *bubbulu*—that is, it was a day of the same nature. To all appearance every one of these days could save a man from all the evils mentioned, just as the gods and their ministers could; but the days had to be observed, and the ministers to be obeyed. The Babylonian was therefore saved by works, if not by faith. Day, month, and year, joined with the heavenly and earthly powers (who naturally judged as to the man's worthiness), combined to deliver him from the ills to which he was subject in his life on earth. That their influence extended to his chances in the world to come, may also be inferred.

There would seem to be hardly any doubt, that the 7th and 15th days of the month were lunar periods, and as such, they are referred to in the Semitic Babylonian story of the Creation. In the 5th tablet of that most important series, which describes how Merodach set in order the heavenly bodies, the fixing of the path and the phases of the moon are referred to as follows:—

> "Nannara (the moon) he caused to shine, ruling the night—
> He set him then as a creature of the night, to make known the days (festivals).
> Monthly, without failing, he provided him with a crown.
> At the beginning of the month then, dawning in the land,
> The horns shine forth to make known the seasons.
> 'On the 7th day the crown perfecting,
> . . *-pattu* shalt thou then encounter, half (month ?)ly.'"

My correction of the text, made several years ago, shows the remains of the first character of the word ending *-pattu* as the upper right-hand part of an upright wedge, pointing to the restoration [illegible] or [illegible] as being at least possible, and if it be either of these characters which originally stood in the gap, we shall have again, in in this passage, the word *šapattu*, which forms the principal subject of this paper. The reason of the selection of the 15th day as the sabbath of the Babylonians would also be explained—it is because the moon *rests* at the full in the middle of the month, and the "heartrest-day" would, in that case, originally have been a "mid-rest-day."

The character for "day," [illegible], with the non-Semitic pronunciation of [illegible], *u*, is also rendered by [illegible], *šabattu*",[23] "Sabbath,"

[23] *Cuneif. Texts from Babyl. Tablets*, xii, pl. 6, l. 24.

apparently as "the day" *par excellence*, or as one of the great days of the month.

The Babylonian sabbath would therefore seem to have been of non-Semitic origin, and the word was derived from the same people. It did not, however, remain with the Babylonians only, but took root with the Hebrews, who applied it to the 7th day, the "evil day" of the people of Akkad, making it, however, infinitely more strict, as well as strictly hebdomadal (which the Babylonian sabbath seems not to have been). Word and institution were therefore Akkadian in their origin, but Hebrew in their application.

Non-Sem

3.

6.

9.

12.

15.

18.

21.

24.

27.

[1] Bab.
probably *še-eš*.
ê=*âṣû*, "to arise,

K. 6012 + K. 10,684, WITH COMPLETIONS FROM BABYLONIAN DUPLICATES.

Assyrian Text		Transcription.		Translation.	
Non-Semitic Column.	Semitic Column.	Non-Semitic Column.	Semitic Column.	Non-Semitic Column.	Semitic Column.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù	ûmu	*Day*	*day*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - maš - am	[mišil ?] ûmu	*Half-a-day*	*[half] a day*
3. [illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - gi - kam	ûmu kal	*First day*	*whole day*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - mina - kam	šina [ûmu]	*Second Day*	*second [day]*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - eši - kam	šela[šet ûmu]	*Third day*	*thir[d day]*
6. [illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - lama - kam	irbit [ûmu]	*Fourth day*	*fourth [day]*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - ia - kam	ḫamil[tu ûmu]	*Fifth day*	*fif[th day]*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - áša - kam	šiš[šit (?) ûmu]	*Sixth day*	*six[th day]*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - imina - kam	sib[ʾit ûmu]	*Seventh day*	*seven[th day]*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - ussa - kam	samanna[tu ûmu]	*Eighth day*	*eigh[th day]*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - ilima - kam	batti ditto	*Ninth day*	*festival do.*
12. [illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - ḫu - kam	ekiṣti ditto	*Tenth day*	*vigil (?) do.*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - ḫuia - kam	šapatti	*Fifteenth day*	*Sabbath*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù-mana-gi-lal-kam	ibbû	*Twentieth day less [illegible]*	*wrath*
15. [illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - mana - kam	êšrû	*Twentieth day*	*twentieth*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - mania - kam	arḫu bat[ti]	*Twenty-fifth day*	*month of festival*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - eša - kam	šelašá	*Thirtieth day*	*thirtieth*
18. [illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - na - am	bubbulu^{m}	*Day of rest*	*desire*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - ḫul - gala	ûḫulgallu^{m}	*Evil day*	*evil day*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - ḫul - gala	ûmu lim[nu]	*Evil day*	*evil day*
21. [illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - ki - sega	umu k[isikki?]	*Day of the sanctuary (?)*	*day of the sanctuary (?)*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - tu - a	ûmu rimku	*Libation-day*	*libation-day*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù el - e - ne	ûmu teliltu^{m}	*Purification-day*	*purification day*
24. [illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - izina	ûmu isinnu	*Festival-day*	*festival-day*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - eš - eš	ûmu êššêšu	*Tabernacle (?)-day*	*tabernacle (?)-day*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - ud - . . .[8]	ûmu arḫu	*Day of the month (?)*	*day of the month (?)*
27. [illegible]	[illegible]	Ù - a - ki - it	ûmu akitu^{m}	*New-year's (?) day*	*new-year's (?) day*
[illegible]	[illegible]	Ù	[ûmu] . . .	*Day of . . . . .*	*[day of] . . . . .*

[1] Bab. [illegible] [2] The restorations are from 81-8-30, 739; 82-3-23, 4504, 4,605, and others. [3] 82-7-14, 3756: [illegible] [4] 81-8-30, 789: [illegible], probably *še-ši*. [5] 82-7-14, 3756: [illegible], *sib*. [6] 82-7-14, 3756: [illegible], *ma*. [7] 82-3-23, 4504: [illegible], *ḫi*. [8] Perhaps to be completed [illegible]. *ê-âṣû*, "to arise," "come forth" (? the day when the month began).

THE COPTIC VERSION OF THE "CANONS OF S. BASIL."

By W. E. Crum.

Among the documents of the *corpus juris* of the Alexandrine church brought within general reach through Prof. Riedel's book, one of the most interesting is the series of 106 Canons attributed in their Arabic form to Basil,[1] and embodied in the collection of the monk Macarius. If we except the quotations from them—derived perhaps from Macarius, perhaps from some other translation—in the Ethiopic *Faus Manfasâwî*[2] and *Fetḥa Nagašt*,[3] no other version has hitherto been signalized. Yet behind the Arabic a Coptic text was, as Riedel observes, to be assumed and of this remnants are to be found among the disconnected fragments brought together by F. Rossi at the end of his publication of the Turin Papyri, and dating presumably from about the 6th or 7th century.[4] Revillout had already noticed most of them ;[5] but no translation of the Arabic being then available, neither he nor Rossi was in a position to identify them. I here give a fresh translation of the fragments, rearranged in their Arabic sequence. Those however of the chief sections now traceable in the Coptic occur at the points marked by *asterisks*. They do not all coincide with the Arabic divisions. The blank *lacunae* in square brackets only vaguely represent what is lost, Rossi's publication not allowing of exact estimates. Where the Arabic text (Ar.) is cited, it must be understood as that of Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 7211 alone. It will be evident, even from the few phrases quoted, that this is far from being identical with the version in

[1] W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen*, &c. (1900), p. 232 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Dillmann's Catal. of the Bodleian Ethiop. MSS., no. XVI ; also the Arabic form of one version of this work in Gildemeister's Catal. of the Orient. MSS. at Bonn, p. 76.

[3] *Ed.* Guidi, *Transl.* p. 14.

[4] *I Papiri Copti, &c.*, II, fasc. iv, 81–92.

[5] *Le Conc. de Nicée &c.* (1876), p. 113.

the Berlin MS. whence Riedel translates and that, so far as can be judged, it more closely follows the Coptic.

The Coptic texts here preserved contribute, I fear, nothing new towards solving the problems of *provenance* and date.[6]

Can. 14. (Fram. I, *diritto*) accus]ation (ἔγ]κλημα). If he desire to remain with her, let him be deposed (καθαιρεῖν) from his order (τάξις) and expelled, or (ἤ) let him be transferred from his order[7] (τ.) until he [ ] accusation (ἔγκλημα) of sin.

Can. 15. * If a whore (πόρνη) desire to [repent (μετανοεῖν), let] her change her raiment and lay aside the adorn[ment (κόσ[μησις) [(*rov.*)], as (ὡς) she is not yet worthy to mix with the flock (ⲡⲟϩⲉ). Thereafter she shall pass other four[8] months, hearing the w[ord (λ[όγος) and going [ ]. But[9] (δέ) if she be one that hath not ever had baptism (βάπτισμα), if she would repent (μετανοεῖν) of her whoredom (πορνεία), let her pass forty days being instructed[9] (καθη[γεῖσθαι)

Can. 29. (Fram. XXI, *dir.*)] give him deposition (καθαίρεσις). But (δέ) if he be a layman (λαικός), let [

Can. 30.], for they have been a cause (αἴτιος) of evil unto many souls (ψ.) But (δέ) if he it is that [(*rov.*)]. * The martyrs (μάρτυρος)] died, being anhungered and being burned with fire, so now it is fitting that [

(Fram. X, *dir.*)]. Heaven forbid (μὴ γένοιτο); but (ἀλλά) we honour the festival, which is a grief unto the heretics (αἱρετικός), since (ὡς) (thereby) we do provoke and grieve them. * And (δέ) the fasts (νηστ.) of Pentecost (πεντηκοστή) are remitted[10] up till the end [ ], if we have asked leave[11] (? *leg.* ϣⲏⲉ), let us fast till the eleventh hour. But (δέ) in the great Pascha, let us give heed unto the star (*sing.*). No man may in those days do his will in lust

[6] The reference in Can. 31 to Egypt should show that they did not come thence. Both Riedel and H. Achelis (*Virgines Subintroductae* 56) see traces of high antiquity in them, though the latter elsewhere speaks of them as quite late (*Theol. Lit. Z.* '02, 91); Bishop Wordsworth (*Christian Ministry*, 2d. ed., 445 ff.) inclines to place them in the 4th or 5th century.

[7] Somewhat obscure and differs from Ar.

[8] Ar. 'eight,' with another stage in the penance.

[9] Ar. exactly as Copt., not as in Riedel.

[10] *Lit.* 'are loosed.' ⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲱⲗ, specially the termination of a fast; *cf.* Crum, *Ostraca*, p. 52, no. 99.

[11] Ar. فاذا جاز.

(πάθος) of desire (ἐπιθυμία). The food (τροφή) [(*rov.*)]. We shall not adorn ourselves in those days with any adornment whatsoever, having mind of the pain and grief our Lord was in upon the cross (στ.). Let the women leave [ ] all the Forty Days, but (δέ) more especially the great Pascha; for therein is our forgiveness and our salvation. And (δέ) it is a thing beyond marriage (γάμος) if one should use intercourse (χρῶ, συνουσία)[12] [Fram. XV, *rov.*) s[in (ἀ]νομία) in the days of the holy Pascha, even unto such as have been joined together that same year in marriage (γάμος). If they shall venture (τολμᾶν) [Fram. XII, *dir.*)] ? (?]της) that love instruction :—

Can. 31. That it is not fitting to go unto the tombs (τάφος) that be called μαρτύρια,[13] therein to hold service (σύναξις) or (ἤ) to pray [ ] even as (κατά) our fathers the apostles (ἀπ.) did teach us, to keep their third and their seventh (days) and their fourteenth and their month[14] [(*rov.*)], they being outside the church's (ἐκκλησία) law (νόμος) :—But (δέ) let such tell me, do they th[is] the dead and the living. Or (ἤ) if not, what profiteth it (ⲡϩⲏⲧ) that we have built chapels (τόπος[15]) in the place where the corpses are? Do we (?) then (ἄρα) this that perchance they may hear the w[ord (λ[όγος). Fram. XI, *dir.*)] The body (σῶμα) becometh earth, according to (κατά) the covenant (διαθήκη), but the soul (ψ.) receiveth according to (κατά) its deeds (πρᾶξις). For[16] (γάρ) the things which she hath done before the separation [ ], and she is shamed[17] [ ]. But (ἀλλά) if we speak the truth: such as do these things do them by way of (κατά) trade, because of a love of shameful gain. Woe unto us that do profit now thereby; they cannot help (βοηθεῖν) [(*rov.*)] unlearned men, saying, 'The priests know not the way of the Lord, and they that possess my law (νόμος)

[12] Second word given by Revillout, *l.c.* 113, who however then joins Fr. XII, *rov.* here.

[13] On this can. *cf.* Shenoute in Zoega 421 ff. and Leipoldt's *Schenute* 183.

[14] Ar. *om.* month, but *cf.* Pitra, *Jur. Eccl.*, I, 70: Lagarde: *Aeg.* 285.

[15] Ar. مساكن.

[16] Ar. والذى فعلوه من قبل الخ.

[17] Ar., corresponding to Riedel's 'Wer unter ihnen' &c., is هو الذى يتبرر بهم او يفضحها 'this it is whereby she is justified, or which shameth her.'

know me not.'[18] One, catholic (καθ.) church (ἐκ.) it is for which the Lord did give his [ ], and they build them tombs (τάφος[19]) in the burying places, that they may for themselves gather in shameful gain, on the excuse (ἀφορμή) of the men of theirs (ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲧ) that have died. I have been told that this is done in (ⲛⲣⲟⲩⲏ?) Egypt: wherefore [(Fram. VII, *rov.*)] and forget this thing. These (words) are what the Apostles (απ) say:[20] They shall turn away their ears from the truth and shall turn them unto these fables. Wherefore thus do we ordain (κελεύειν), not alone (? οὐ μόνον) we, but (ἀλλά) the catholic (καθ.) church (ἐκ.) [

Can. 32. (Fram. XXIII, *rov.*) whilst they say: We dwell together. If they be spoken to, they say: It troubleth (μέλει) us not that we do dwell together, (seeing) we be without sin[21] [(*dir.*)] this teaching of the church (ἐκ.), [either (ἢ)] they shall separate one from the other, according to (κατά) the teaching,[22] or (ἢ) they both shall be accursed (ἀνάθεμα). For (καὶ γάρ) the scripture (γρ.) crieth (ⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ), saying [(Fram. VII, *dir.*)] upon coals of fire and burneth not his feet.[23] Men such as these[24] do dwell together to their destruction (ⲧ[ⲁⲕ]ⲟ?) and bring death upon themselves to their own [destruction (ⲧ[ⲁⲕⲟ?). (Fram. XXII, *rov.*)] that is, to draw often nigh unto women, or (ἢ) to speak often with them, or (ἢ) to hold converse (ὁμιλεῖν) with them [(*dir.*)],[25] thou shalt bemuse thy reason (λογισμός). But (δέ) thou hast sinned. Them they slay with that sword, which is the approaching[25] [

[18] Jer. v, 4; ii, 8. Ar. has واعدا ناموسى (reading ? ⲛⲓⲟⲥⲧⲉ for ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲉ).

[19] Ar. قبورا.

[20] 2 Tim. iv, 4 is the right reference.

[21] Ar. *om.*

[22] Ar. كالادب.

[23] Prov. vi, 28.

[24] Ar. هكذا الناس الاشرار.

[25] Ar., after Riedel's 'sie anzusehen,' كتب لنا اذا انظرت الى امراة فتشتهيها فان الافكار تنقسم (mistaking ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲟ for ⲛⲓⲟⲩ) فاما الطارين هم فانهم يذبحوهم بهذا السيف الذى القرب من ذلك الحزن الذى للنجاسة ولا تظن الخ

Can. 33. (Revillout 114) That it is not fitting to take the bodies (σκήνωμα) of the martyrs (μάρτ.) into the catholic churches (καθ. ἐκκ.). [(Fram. XIV, *dir.*)] those μαρτύρια on one side. [*] catholic (καθ.) [ ] God [ ]ignorant [men] venture (τολμᾶν), when in chapels (τόπος) of the martyrs (μάρτ.), to despise (ἀθετεῖν) the catholic (καθ.) (church), or (ἤ) her law (νομ.), or (ἤ) wish not to be under (ⲙⲫⲟⲛⲉ ϩⲁ) her [(*rov.*)] of the martyrs (μ.). Wherefore now there must be no hurt done unto the catholic (καθ.) (church). For (γάρ) if one set a martyr's (μάρτ.) name [ ] that he did [buy with] his [sacred blood]. But (δέ) [as for] the bod[ies (σκ[ήνωμα)] of the holy ma[rtyrs

Can. 38. (Fram. VIII, *rov.*)] is this, for every man, especially (μάλιστα) them that be in these orders (τάγμα).

Can. 39. *A bishop (ἐπ.) that weareth (φορεῖν) a linen garment (?) (κινοβιξον)[26] or ? (ἤ φυλλον),[27] while the poor of his town (πόλις) [(*dir.*)] all vain adornment (κόσμησις), that he may be able to instruct them that are beneath him, that they should do thus.

Can. 40. When a bishop (ἐπ.) is chosen [(Fram. XX, *dir.*) shall] be dedicated (ἀνάθεμα, *leg.* ἀνάθημα) unto the church (ἐκ.). Yet (μόνον) shall not his children be deprived of the church[28] (*sic*, ἐκ.), except for (χωρίς) unworthiness. If there be [

Can. 42. (*rov.*)] shall [be] in the last rank (? τάξις).

Can. 43. (*sic*)[29] [He that shall join himself in] two marriages (? γάμος) [not] fitted to be ordained (χειροτονεῖν) [

[26] Reading doubtful (*v.* Rossi p. 128). Perhaps λινοβιξον, *cf.* Paris MS. copte, 44, f. 59*b* ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲡⲓⲝⲓⲟⲛ البرنس (in a list of priestly garments); also Crawford (now Rylands) no. 25, earlier text (palimps.) f. 6*b*, ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲟⲗⲉ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲡⲓⲝⲓⲟⲛ ⲉϥⲓⲏⲣ ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲟⲛϩ. The latter is from the story of the conversion of Dionysius Areop. by Michael, 'a man of light in the guise of a general' (στρατοπεδάρχης) thus attired. *Cf.* Amélineau, *Contes* I, 2; but the word in question is not represented there, nor in the Syriac versions, Add. 12151 and 14645, which Mr. Brooks has kindly examined. Revillout, *l.c.* 115, renders 'l'or,' I know not why. The Ar. of this canon has برفير (πόρφυρα), corresponding in the Ethiop. transl. (*Fet. Nag.*, text 43, transl. 59) to *mêlât* 'purple." Dan. x, 5, neither in LXX nor Theod., gives us help.

[27] I can find no explanation of this. Ar. has حرير 'silk,' Ethiop. *qaṭant* 'fine raiment.'

[28] Ar. ما يدفع لهم من الكنيسة.

[29] *Can.* 41 was presumably on the second part of the *diritto*, ⲟⲩⲟⲛϩⲃ being perhaps Riedel's 'Fehlbetrag,' Ar. نقصا.

Can. 44.] his brother's daughter or (ἢ) his mother's daughter, he is not fitted to be ordained (χειροτ.) bishop (ἐπ.) or presbyter (ἢ πρ.) and deacon (διάκονος). He that [

Can. 90. (Fram. XXV, *dir.*)] who [opposeth (ϯⲟⲩⲃⲉ)] a presbyter (πρ.), his punishment (ἐπιτιμία) shall be given him not by the presbyter (πρ.) but (ἀλλά) by the bishop (ἐπ.), up to seven (ϣⲁⲥⲁϣⲓⲉ) [weeks (*rov.*)] which was meted (? ὁρίζειν) to (?) the deacon (διάκ.). But (δέ) him (*sc.* the deacon) shall they not rebuke, as (ὡς) having accused (ἐγκαλεῖν) the presbyter (πρ.) If a reader (ἀναγνώστης) [

Can. 93. (Fram. XXIV, *dir.*)] being grieved at heart (? ⲏⲕⲁϩ ⲏϩⲏⲧ), he shall be helped and healed by the elders of the clergy (κλῆρος) or (ἢ) the bishop (ἐπ.), and they shall [

Can. 94 (*rov.*)]. If any shall venture (τολμᾶν) to build it, there shall no service be done (συνάγειν) therein for ever. If a cleric (κληρικός) venture (τολ.) to do service (συν.) [

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

V.

The Genealogies and Lists in Nehemiah.

BY SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*, *F.R.S.*, *&c.*

(*Continued from page* 31.)

Let us now turn to a more important matter, one indeed which has caused astonishment and comment on the part of every Bible student, however ingenuous, namely, the extraordinary variation in *the details* of the two recensions of the list, namely, that in Ezra ii, which I consider to be the original, and that in Nehemiah vii, which is the secondary copy. The variations in the Hebrew Masoretic texts of these chapters number at least one hundred in this single chapter, and a large portion of them are substantial variations. That this variation is of very old standing is clear, from its occurring in virtually almost every instance in all the early Greek codices. These represent, as we have seen, Theodotion's translation of the Masoretic text, and inasmuch as that was made not later than the third century, it shows that they existed in full exuberance at that time, which is so near the original formation of the Masoretic text itself. If we examine the texts more closely, we shall find that most of the important variants are in the numbers, and yet the sum total in the two is the same. This shows that the variations, which are a great deal too numerous to be accidental, and to be merely traceable to scribes' errors, have in fact been made with a purpose, and this purpose seems to me to have been to try and disguise the fact of the duplication of the chapter in question in Nehemiah, by a make-believe that the documents were derived from different sources.

The only alternative to this view is, that the much-belauded Masoretic text of the Bible was so desperately corrupted almost

immediately after its origin, that over one hundred substantial variants about statements of fact occur in two recensions of the narrative, in a single chapter.

It will be convenient to substantiate what I have just been saying, by putting the two lists side by side wherever they substantially vary.

I will, to avoid confusion, limit myself to the substantial variants as given in a transliteration of the Masoretic text of Ezra ii and Nehemiah vii.

Ezra, Chapter ii.		Nehemiah, Chapter vii.	
Verse 2. Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, *Seraiah*, *Reelaiah*, *Mordecai*, Bilshan, *Mizpar*, Bigvai, *Rehum*, Baanah.		Verse 7. Zerabbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, *Azariah*, *Raamiah*, *Nahamani*, Mordecai Bilshan, *Mispereth*, Bigvai, *Nehum*, Baanah.	
,, 5. Arah	*775*	,, 10. Arah	*652*
,, 6. Pahath-moab, etc. ...	*2812*	,, 11. Pahath-Moab, etc. ...	*2818*
,, 8. Zattu...	*945*	,, 13. Zattu...	*845*
,, 10. *Bani*...	*642*	,, 15. *Binnui*	*648*
,, 11. Bebai	*623*	,, 16. Bebai	*628*
,, 12. Azgad	*1222*	,, 17. Azgad	*2322*
,, 13. Adonikam	*666*	,, 18. Adonikam	*667*
,, 14. Bigvai	*2056*	,, 19. Bigvai	*2067*
,, 15. Adin	*454*	,, 20. Adin	*655*
,, 17. Bezai...	*323*	,, 23. Bezai...	*324*
,, 18. *Jorah*...	112	,, 24. *Hariph*	112
,, 19. Hashum	*223*	,, 22. Hashum	*328*
,, 20. *Gibbar*	95	,, 25. *Gibeon*	95
,, 21. Beth-lehem	*123*	,, 26. Beth-lehem and Netophah	*188*
,, 22. Netophah	*56*		
,, 24. Azmaveth	42	,, 28. *Beth*-Azmaveth ...	42
,, 28. Beth-el and Ai ...	*223*	,, 32. Beth-el and Ai ...	*123*
,, 29. Nebo...	52	,, 33. *The other* Nebo ...	52
,, 30. *Magbish*	*156*	Not in Nehemiah at all.	
,, 33. Lod, Hadid, and Ono	*725*	,, 37. Lod, Hadid, and Ono	*721*
,, 35. Senaah	*3630*	,, 38. Senaah	*3930*
,, 40. The Levites: the children of Jeshua and Kadmiel, of the children of Hodaviah	74	,, 43. The Levites of the children of Jeshua, Kadmiel, [and] of the children of Hodevah	74
,, 41. Asaph	*128*	,, 44. Asaph	*148*
,, 42. The children of the Porters of Shallum, of Ater, of Talmon, of Akkub, of Hatita, of Shobai	*139*	,, 45. The Porters: the children of Shallum, of Ater, of Talmon, of Akkub, of Hatita, of Shobai	138

EZRA, Chapter ii—*contd.*		NEHEMIAH, Chapter vii—*contd.*	
Verse 45. *Akkub.*		Not in Nehemiah.	
,, 46. *Hagab.*		Not in Nehemiah.	
,, 50. Asnah.		Not in Nehemiah.	
,, 57. *-Hazzebaim Ami.*		,, 59. *-Zebaim, Amon.*	
,, 60. Delaiah, Tobiah, Nekoda	*652*	,, 62. Delaiah, Tobiah, Nekoda	*642*
,, 65. *two hundred* singing men and women.		,, 67. *two hundred and forty-five* s nging men and women.	
,, 68. and some of the chief of the fathers, *when they came to the house of the Lord which is at Jerusalem, offered freely for the house of God to set it up in its place.*		,, 70. and some of the chief of the fathers *then gave unto the work. The Tirshatha gave to the treasure 1000 darics of gold, 50 basons, 530 priests' garments. And some of the fathers gave to the treasure of the work 20,000 darics of gold, and 2200 pounds of silver, and that which the rest of the people gave was 20,000 darics of gold. and 2000 pounds of silver, and 67 priests' garments.*	
,, 69. *They gave after their abilities unto the treasury of the work 61,000 darics of gold, and 5000 pounds of silver, and 100 priests' garments.*			
EZRA, Chapter iii.			
erse 1. And when the 7th month was come, the children of Israel were in these cities, and all the people gathered themselves as one man to Jerusalem. Then stood up Jeshua the son of Jozadak, etc., etc.		,, 73. And when the 7th month came, the children of Israel were in their cities. And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the street that was before the water gate; and they spake unto Ezra the Scribe to bring the book of law, etc., etc.	

It will be seen what a number of variants there are here in the numbers yet in Ezra ii, 64, and in Nehemiah vii, 66, we are told the whole congregation together was 42,380.

This figure is not the sum of the numbers, either in one case or the other, which shows again that in both cases the divergencies

referred to do not include all the mistakes there are in the narrative of those belauded immaculate scribes, the guardians of the Masoretic text.

Although the variants are chiefly in the numbers, they also extend to the names. The variants above quoted occur in the actual current Hebrew Bible. As I have said, they can be traced back in almost every case to the great uncials. The Vatican MS., which holds a deservedly high place in the estimation of scholars, and is the basis of Dr. Swete's great edition of the Greek text, is unfortunately very faulty in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, where both the Alexandrian and the Sinaitic MSS. are much sounder and better; and their writers doubtless had copies of Theodotion before them much less corrupted than the one from which Codex B is taken. This is especially noteworthy in chapters ii of Ezra and vii of Nehemiah, in regard to which I have made a minute collation of the three texts.

Apart from this, it is a curious and ominous fact that almost every one of the variants between the texts of Ezra ii and Nehemiah vii just referred to, and occurring in the Hebrew, is to be found in the Greek uncials. This is not only an additional proof that the latter in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are mere recensions and translations of the Masoretic text, but a proof that that text was exceedingly faulty from its very inception.

In some cases the Greek copies have clearly preserved a more complete text than the Hebrew, pointing to the latter having been corrupted since they were written. Thus in Nehemiah vii, 7, all the three great uncials A, B, and S insert the name of Ezra in the list. (Codex B adds an additional name Masphar, which is apparently a corrupt duplication.) In Nehemiah vii, 24, we have in S an additional clause, namely the sons of Asen 223. The Hebrew text of verses 26 and 27 of the same chapter are condensed into one verse thus, "the men of Bethlehem and Netophah 148."

The Greek of A and S, which enumerates certain people as they are enumerated in verses 21, 22 and 23 of Ezra ii, in the Hebrew version, namely, "the sons of Bethlehem 123, the sons of Netophah 56, the sons of Natboth 128. Both the former names with the attached numbers are wanting in Codex B. In Nehemiah vii, verse 33, the Greek of S and A has the additional clause, "the children of Magmos" (S) or Magibos (A 156), which is wanting in the

Hebrew. In Nehemiah vii, verse 45, Codex B, duplicates the clause "son of Ater."

In the same chapter, verse 48, A and S have an inserted clause. After Hagaba we read in both, "the sons of Akua (or Akud), the sons of Outa, the sons of Keter, the sons of Gaba or Agab." This clause is wanting in Codex B and in the Hebrew.

In Nehemiah vii, verse 49. The Greek of B and S omits Gahar, which occurs in Codex A as Goaz. In the same chapter, verse 62, Codex A adds, "the children of Bua." In verse 70, all three Greek Codices have 30, which is doubtless right, instead of 530 priests' garments, as in the Hebrew. Turning to Ezra ii, 2 (which chapter is wanting in Codex S, there being a lacuna there), in verse 2, Codex B has only ten names, omitting Rehum, which occurs in Codex A in the form Ireoum. In the Hebrew there are also only eleven names in this verse, Nahamani, which occurs in Nehemiah vii, 7, being omitted. Verse 39 of Ezra ii is not in Codex B; similarly verse 53, "the children of Sisera," is wanting in the same MS. In verse 55 and 58 "the children of Abdesil" is substituted for the servants of Solomon in the same MS. B, nor is their number 399 given. In a large number of cases, in fact, the names are very corrupt, in Codex B, while the numbers disagree much more with the Hebrew than in Codex A, and it would surely be well in a future edition of these books to make Codex A and not Codex B the mother of the Greek text.

Let us now pass on again. As we have said in the last paper of the series, Nehemiah viii was once part of the book of Ezra, and was probably transferred from the end of that book and placed where we now find it by the compilers of the Masoretic text.

With chapter viii, therefore, we have nothing to do at present. Let us turn to chapter ix of Nehemiah. I showed in the previous paper that this chapter, like the preceding one, did not form a part of the Memoirs of Nehemiah, with which it has nothing in common, but, on the contrary, *that, if a genuine document*, it was, like chapter viii, a continuation of the narrative of what we call the book of Ezra. From verse 6 to the end it is professedly an address by Ezra, and, as has been remarked by more than one critic, it agrees in phraseology and matter with a similar prayer in the present book of Ezra. Lord A. Harvey remarks that its various references to the Old Testament are very like in style to those in Ezra iv, 18, and Nehemiah viii, 8, Ezra vi, 22, and Nehemiah viii, 17, and very unlike the prayer in

Nehemiah i. I am now disposed to think that the whole chapter was composed by the Jamnia doctors, and formed no part of the original compilation, and this for several reasons.

In the first place, like chapter vii of Nehemiah, it is largely a duplication of a narrative already contained in Ezra, chapters ix and x, and which occurs in Nehemiah quite incongruously and *apropos* of nothing: I refer to the account of the separation of the Jews from the strangers, and the exhortations, or so-called sermon, of Ezra. It seems almost incredible that such a reduplication and repetition of the same story should have formed part of the original narrative in Ezra, and that the iteration should have followed so closely upon the original statement of the same facts, as it would have done if chapter ix of Nehemiah had been originally a continuation of chapter viii. This view is further supported by the palpable errors contained in Nehemiah ix: thus verses 4 and 5, which enumerate two lists of Levites, present considerable difficulties, and both are certainly corrupt in the Masoretic text.

First in regard to the 8 Levites in verse 4. In the Hebrew unpointed text three names in this list are precisely alike. In the punctuated text two have been read as Bani and one as Bunni. Now it is curious that in the Greek MSS., representing Theodotion's translation, this name does not occur at all as a proper name, and in each case the word has been understood as a form of Ben, and read *son of*, which was no doubt the primitive meaning, which has been entirely misunderstood by the Masorets, and naturally by their faithful henchmen the Revisers of the English Bible. Instead of Jeshua, Bani, Kadmiel, Shebaniah, Bunni, Sherebiah, Bani, and Chenani, as in the Hebrew text, we ought to read, as in the Greek of Theodotion, "Jesus and the sons of Kadmiel, Shebaniah, the son of Arabia (or Sarabia), the son of Chenani." This is the reading of Codex A, which in this part of the Bible we have seen is more reliable than Codex B, in which the name Chenani is left out. I may say that in Nehemiah viii, 7, Bani is translated "son" in the Syriac version; so it is in the Arabic version of ix, 4, and in the Syriac of x, 13, and 14, 15.

In verse 5 of chapter ix we seem to have, in the Hebrew text, a kind of duplication of the list in the previous verse, with certain variants, namely, Jeshua and Kadmiel, Bani, Hashabniah, Sherebiah, Hodijah, Shebaniah, and Pethahiah. In the Greek codexes only the first two of these names are mentioned at all, which points to

the other names having been inserted after Theodotion's translation was made. This is not improbable, since they seem internally corrupt; thus the word Bani again occurs here as a proper name. Hashabniah is clearly the Shebaniah of the previous verse, and is repeated as Shebaniah further on, and Sherabiah, who is named here among the Levites present, is named in the previous verse as the father of Shebaniah. The names Hodijah and Pethahiah do not occur in the previous verse. I may add that, as Lord A. Harvey has reminded us, Jeshua and Kadmiel are mentioned in Ezra iii, 9, as taking part with Zerubbabel in building the temple, while the same Levites are made to take an active part in the alleged reforms of Nehemiah in Nehemiah ix, 4, 5; x, 9, 10. The lists in Nehemiah ix, 4, 5, in fact, seem not only corrupt, but made up by the same hands that made up the lists in Nehemiah x and xii, of which they are a re-hash. The character of these lists, in fact, throws suspicion on the whole chapter, for which, as we have seen, we have no external evidence, and which for other reasons seems not unlikely to have been the actual handiwork of the editors of the Masoretic text, who used reduplications, and that it did not occur in the Septuagint.

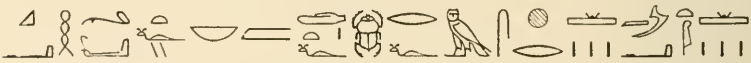
(*To be continued.*)

THE EGYPTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF FUNERAL OFFERINGS.

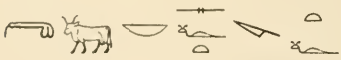
BY J. HERBERT WALKER, *M.A.*

It has long been assumed that the models of food represented on tables of offerings before the deceased person in a tomb (Plate I), were sufficient to provide him with sustenance, provided that the formula was pronounced by a living person. As the deceased was now represented by his *ka* statue, it was sufficient that the necessary food should be provided as representations of what was intended to be given. It was necessary, however, that the magical power of words should intervene. For this purpose everyone who passed by a tomb was besought to pronounce the above formula.

Up to the present time, no proof has been forthcoming from any inscription, that the Egyptians believed in the actual transformation of the pictured objects into reality. A new translation, which I suggest for a passage in the Long Inscription at the end of the tomb of Paheri at El Kab, seems to afford this proof. The inscription is published in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 13*a*, and in the Egypt Exploration Fund's Memoir for 1891–2, "Ahnas and Paheri," Pl. IX. The passage occurs in lines 41–2 :—



qʿḥtfi nb m d·t-f ḫpr-f m sḫr·w mꜣʿ·t (*qahtïfi neb em det-ef kheper-ef em sekheru maa·t*), "Everything which shall be touched (?) by his hand, may it become real."

I propose to read the verbal adjective in its more unusual passive form. A good example of this occurs in *Siût*, I, 314, 322,  "Every bull which shall be sacrificed." *Cf.* Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 972.

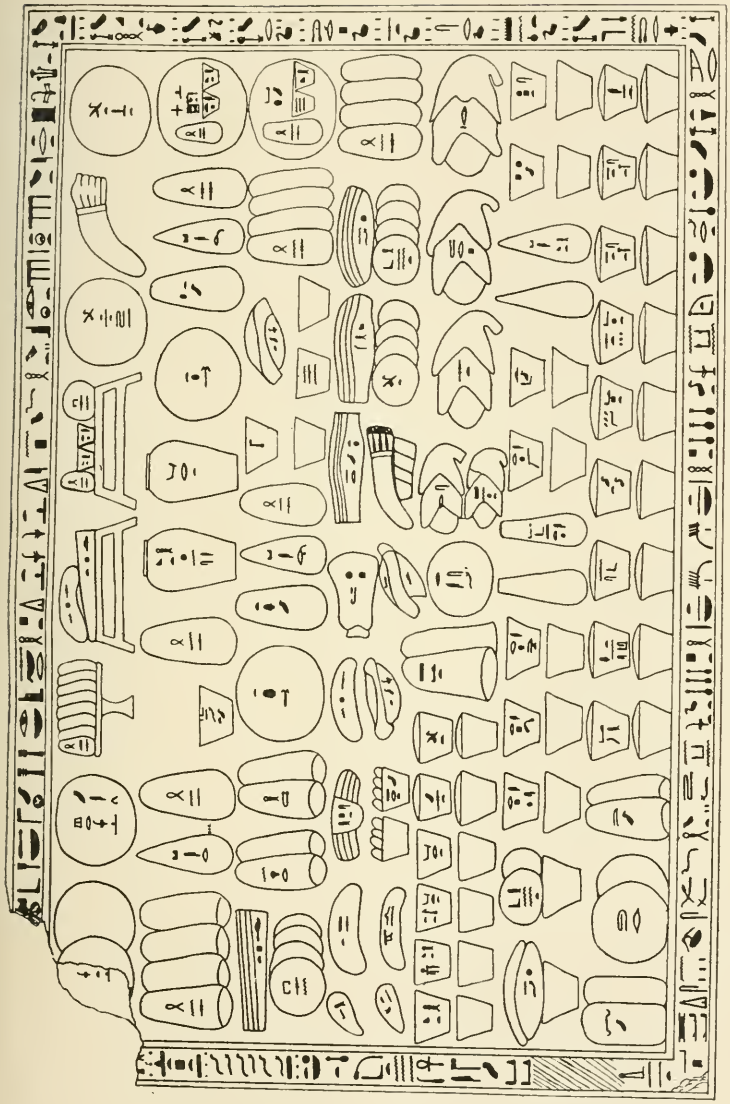
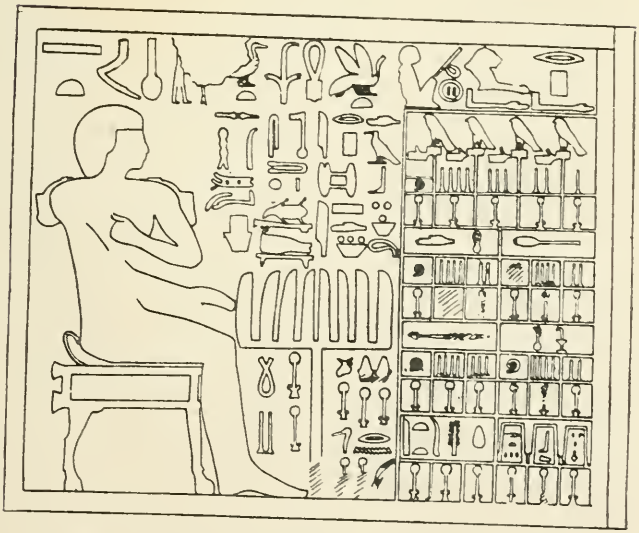


TABLE OF OFFERINGS OF PTAH NEFERU, FROM THE PYRAMID OF AMENEMHAT III.

From PROF. PETRIE'S "Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara."

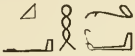
WALL-PAINTING IN THE TOMB OF RA-HOTEP
From PROF. PETRIE'S "Medum."



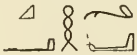
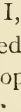
WALL-PAINTING IN THE MASTABA OF NEFER-MĀT.
From PROF. PETRIE'S "Medum."

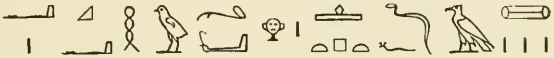
It might be expected that the form would be preferred for the neuter; but the masculine suffix used here is evidently a sign of the change coming over the language, when the masculine pronoun was used to express the neuter, as in Pap. D'Orbiney, VIII, 3, "and now, as to what thou shalt do for me."

In Demotic it is the usual form; *cf.* Griffith, *I. Kh.*, III, 1. Note on *e-f hpr.* And *hpr-f*, in line 2, where he translates it as optative.

Bending the hand over an object is so closely allied with touching it, that  certainly has the sense of "touching." It seems possible that the word may be the origin of *Boh.* ⲟⲩⲱϩ, *Sah.* ϫⲱϩ, "to touch."

Sethe, *Verbum*, I, 282, gives two examples of words beginning in being represented in Coptic by *Sah.* ⲟ, *Boh.* ϫ, which is a common form in Coptic for words which began in Egyptian with .

Sah. ϫ, *Boh.* ⲟ, is the common Coptic representation of words which began in Egyptian with , and  may be an exceptional case of the being thus represented. The has disappeared before  , *cf.* Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 146, 421, and Griffith, *Hieroglyphs*, p. xii.

The new translation gives an excellent reason for the conventional position of the deceased, sitting before the table of offerings, with his right arm extended over the viands, the hand slightly bent and just touching them (Plate II), a position alluded to in the stela of Nekht-Min, l. 2,  "the arm bent over the offerings of fatlings." This stela is published in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 114 *i*; Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, pl. 106, and also with transliteration and translation in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, VIII, p. 312.

The new version differing so entirely from the translation given by Mr. Griffith in the Exploration Fund Memoir, I have submitted it to him, and he accepts it with warm approval. I shall feel very grateful for any communications from other Egyptologists as to whether their readings in other stelæ are favourable to my view or otherwise.

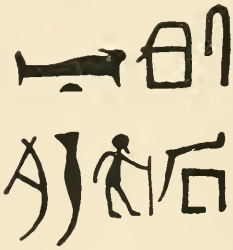
NOTES ON SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

BY STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*

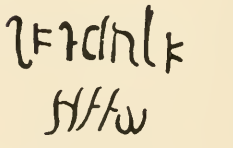
II.

2. NABATAEAN GRAFFITI FROM EGYPT.—The inscriptions here reproduced were copied by Mr. Percy Newberry, in the spring of 1896, in the Wâdy Gadammeh, about thirty miles north-east of Keneh, whilst exploring some of the ancient mines in the Eastern Desert. The Egyptian (1), he informs me, reads: *segesert mer per ur Bener mer*, "the resting-place of the chief steward Bener."

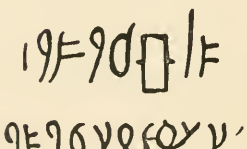
1.



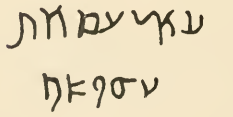
2.



3.



4



The three graffiti are not so easily interpreted. They are in a character which is practically identical with that in which the inscriptions of the Sinaitic peninsula are written, and like these accordingly, they may be ascribed to Arab merchants and traders of the first three or four centuries of the Christian era. They read as follows (doubtful letters are surmounted by dots):—

(2.) שלם אושו
בר . . גו

Hail! Ausu son of . . .

The reading גר (? גי) is suggested by the form of the ligature גר in *C.I.S.* ii, 706, but it is not clear how the first part of the name is to be read.

(3.) שלם אושז ׀

בר עמשו בר אושו .

Hail! Ausu son of . . . son of Ausu.

The first name in the second line is obscure, the last sign, if not ו, might possibly represent ה.

(4.) בריך עמירת

בר אושו

Blessed be 'Amîrat son of Ausu.

The ligature read as יר is doubtful; the final ו in אושו might also be read י.

It is a distinct novelty to find "Sinaitic" graffiti in Egypt.[1] They have, of course, nothing to do with the hieroglyphic inscription but illustrate the *kakoethes scribendi* of the Semite more educated than his fellows. It is singular that in each case the name *Ausu* ("gift") recurs, but there is nothing to show that the writers were related, and, besides, the name is extremely common, in the present form, or as a diminutive (אוישו, *uwaisu*), or in compounds (אושאלהי, etc.). The name עמירת, as elsewhere (*e.g.*, Nab., *C.I.S.* ii, 200), is masculine. In a Nabataean inscription from Bostra (*C.I.S.* ii, 173), we meet with תעמר (from the same root) the wife of *Ausu*, and in a Sinaitic bilingual (*C.I.S.* ii, 1044) mention is made of *αὖσος ἔρσου* (Sin. חרשו) *καλ(ε)ῖται Οὐμάρου*. These instances of the association of *Ausu* and forms of עמר are naturally only to be viewed as coincidences. Like the Hebrew Omri, the name designates the possessor as the "worshipper" of his god.

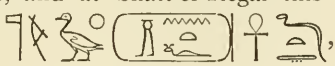
In No. 2 it will be noticed that there is a vertical stroke at the end of the first line, and what appears to be a curved stroke at the beginning of the second. Presumably they do not represent letters, but are analogous to the curious signs which frequently recur upon the Sinaitic inscriptions. A glance through those recently edited in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (part ii, tome i, fascic. 3)

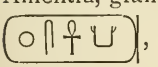
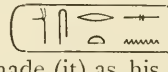
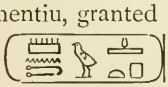
[1] It is worth mentioning that there is a Wâdy Keneh (وادي كنه) in the Sinaitic peninsula; it lies to the east end of the W. Maghârah (see *C.I.S.* ii, Nos. 699–714).

shows that the signs are, with few exceptions, only found in inscriptions which are marked by the use of שלם ("hail"), בריך ("blessed be") or דכיר ("remembered be"). The vertical stroke (|) occurs at the beginning of an inscription with שלם in No. 749, but the valedictory inscriptions also have X (No. 743, before the name alone in 1393), Y (No. 906), and —< (No. 981 at the *end*). Y occurs in a benediction in No. 1135, twice or thrice before names alone, about half-a-dozen times in commemorations (with דכיר), and in more than forty valedictory inscriptions. On the other hand, >— is found some twelve times or more in commemorations, but only once or twice with שלם (No. 548) or בריך (No. 1183).

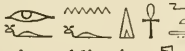
THE NAME OF KING SANKHKERE.

BY ALAN H. GARDINER.

King Sankhkere is designated, on the few monuments of his reign preserved to us, by his *prenomen* alone. But since all other kings of the XIth dynasty are called either Antef or Mentuhotep, there was but little doubt that Sankhkere bore one of these two names. Now on the list of Abydos Sankhkere is preceded by a king Nebkhrewre Mentuhotep, and at Shatt-er-Regal this king is found in company with a king  , who is apparently associated with him. Hence Professor PETRIE (*History*, Vol. I, p. 142) provisionally identified Sankhkere with this King Antef.

A table of offerings published by M. AMÉLINEAU,* and hitherto overlooked, proves however that Sankhkere was a Mentuhotep. The dedicatory inscription runs in two symmetrical sentences to right and left of the sign . On the right we read: "The living, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, , loved of Khenti Amentiu, granted life. He made (it) as his monument to his father  , that he might make for him 'he lives eternally.'" † On the left: "(The living), son of Re  ,‡ beloved of Khenti Amentiu, granted life. He made (it) as his monument for his father  , that he might make for him 'he lives

* *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos* (1895–96), pp. 153 ff.

† I translate thus the formula , on the analogy of the phrase  .

‡ In the publication, erroneously for .

eternally.'" M. AMÉLINEAU rightly pointed out that only two kings are intended, the king who dedicated the monument, and the king to whom it was dedicated. On the right hand they are designated by their *prenomina*, on their left by their *nomina*. Sankhkere therefore bore the *nomen* Mentuhotep. It is, perhaps, best to withhold all speculation with regard to the King Antef mentioned at Shatt-er-Regal until further documents of the period are discovered.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C., on Wednesday, March 9th, 1904, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

F. Legge: "Our Present Knowledge of the Early Egyptian Dynasties."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
——————— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
——————— La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
——————— La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte.
AMIAUD, A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Compare des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
——— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
Berlin Museum. Ægyptische Urkunden.
" " Griechische und Koptische Urkunden.
BISSING, BARON VON, "Metalgefässe" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
——————— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
BUDGE, E. A. WALLIS, *Litt.D.*, "The Mummy."
——————————————— Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862–1873.
CRUM, W. E., "Coptic Monuments" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
DARESSY, G., "Ostraca" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).
——————— "Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois" (*Cat. Cairo Museum*).
DELITZSCH, Das Babylonische Weltschopfungs Epos.
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——————————————— 2nd series, 1869.
——————— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
——————————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
EBERS, G., Papyrus Ebers.
ERMAN, Papyrus Westcar.
Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.

Golénischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
——————— Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes de la Collection de.
Grant-Bey, Dr., The Ancient Egyptian Religion and the Influence it exerted on the Religions that came in contact with it.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
Hommel, Dr., Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens. 1892.
Jensen, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.
Joachim, H., Papyros Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
Kussmetter, Der Occultesmus des Altertums des Akkader, Babyloner, Chaldaer, &c.
Lederer, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berücksichtigung der Resultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.
Ledrain, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
Lefèbure, Le Mythe Osirien. 2me partie. "Osiris."
Legrain, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
Lehmann, Samassumukin König von Babylonien 668 v. Chr., p. xiv, 173, 47 plates.
Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
Mariette, "Monuments divers."
——————— "Dendera."
Maruchi, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia.
Maspero, G., Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
Müller, D. H., Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien.
Pognon, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.
Rawlinson, Canon, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
Robiou. Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
——— Recherches sur la Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
Sarzec, Découvertes en Chaldée.
Schouw, Charta papyracea graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Strauss and Torney, Der Altägyptische Götterglaube.
Visser, I., Hebreeuwsche Archaeologie. Utrecht, 1891.
Walther, J., Les Découvertes de Nineve et de Babylone au point de vue biblique. Lausanne, 1890.
Wilcken, M., Actenstücke aus der Königl. Bank zu Theben.
Wiltzke, Der Biblische Simson der Ägyptische Horus-Ra.
Winckler, Hugo, Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna. Vols. I and II.
——— Textbuch-Keilinschriftliches zum Alten Testament.
Wesseley, C., Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El Fajum.
Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
Zimmern, H., Die Assyriologie als Hülfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1904.

Third Meeting, March 9th, 1904.

REV. J. MARSHALL, *M.A.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, Dr. Daiches.—"Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden."

From the Royal Society of Literature—"Chronicon Adæ de Usk." Edited by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, *K.C.B.*

From the Author, Prof. Reinisch.—"Der Dschäbärtidialekt der Somalisprache."

The following Paper was read:—

F. LEGGE: "Our Present Knowledge of the Early Egyptian Dynasties."

A discussion followed, in which the Secretary, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Rouse, and the Chairman took part.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L., &c.*

(*Continued from page* 50.)

CHAPTER CLXXIV.

Chapter of causing the Chu to come out of the great door in the sky.

It is read (1) to thee by thy son (Horus).

The great ones tremble when they see the sword which is in thy hand, when thou goest out of the Tuat.

Hail to thee, the wise one, created by Seb, born of Nut. The cycles of the gods are at rest. Horus rests in his dwelling (2), Tum rests in his abode (?). All the gods of East and West rest in the great goddess (3) of the birth, between the arms of her who gave birth to the god.

When I am born I see, I recognize where I am, I have been raised on my place. The order has been accomplished of her who hates sleep and depression, and who stands in Utenet.

My bread comes from Pu, and I receive my form in Heliopolis. Horus, in accordance with the command he had received from his father the lord of clouds, Astes, raised him, and I have been raised by Tmu.

I am the great one. I come forth between the legs of the cycle of the gods. I have been conceived by Sechet, and Shestet (4) gave me birth to be her star, Sothis, the first one, the great walker who brings Rā through the sky every day.

I have come to my abode. I have united the two diadems. I shine like a star. O ye flowers, the name of which is "the precious bunch," I am the lotus which cometh out of the holy earth; when I am plucked, I settle myself at the nostrils of the Great Figure.

I have come out of the lake of flame, I have received justice instead of evil. I am near the white cloth (5), and I keep watch over the Uræi in the night of the great flood of tears. (6)

I shine like Nefertmu the lotus which is at the nostril of Rā

when he comes forth on the horizon every day, and the gods are purified by his sight.

N. is triumphant among the *ka*, smiting the hearts through his great wisdom. He is near the god, he is the Sau (7) (the knowing one) at the western (right) side of Rā.

I have come to my abode among the *ka*, uniting the hearts through my great wisdom. I am Sau near the god, at the western side of Rā; my sceptre (?) is in my hand. I am called the great favourite, as I am clad in red garments. I am Sau, on the western side of Rā, with a stout heart in the cave of Nu.

Notes.

This Chapter is already found in the pyramid of Unas (l. 379–399). Prof. Erman (*Zeitschr.*, XXXIII, p. 2) has made a special study of it, and has pointed out that the title of this Chapter originates from a misunderstanding of the word which should be a star and not a gate or a door. Were it not for the vignette, which represents the deceased, the woman Muthotepet coming out of a door, we should translate: "Chapter of the coming forth of the *Chu* as a great star in the sky"; in accordance with these words found in the course of the chapter: "Shestet gave me birth to be her star, Sothis," etc.

Two papyri only contain this Chapter, one in London and one in Paris. The London text has a vignette with these words: "the coming out of the door in the sky by . . ."

1. M. Maspero translates: ton fils t'a fait (le sacrifice). The word is employed here as in the rubric of Chapter 141, "to say, to speak." This speech is a ceremonial act, one of the done for the deceased.

2. We noticed before (Chapter 160, note 2) that is a variant for when applying to Tmu. Here it applies to Horus. The unknown word being parallel, I give it conjecturally a similar sense.

3. "the great one, the great goddess," and its variants

etc., occur frequently in the Book of the Dead, and seem to be a name of the sky.

4. which is found in the papyrus, is clearly a mistake for the name of the goddess *Shestet*, which we read in the text of Unas.

5. Perhaps a tent in which he will shelter the Uræi.

6. See note 1, Chapter 4, and *Life Work*, Vol. III., p. 46. I suppose it means here a heavy rain.

7. In the pictures in the royal tombs the sun-god stands in his boat between and . Here it is said that Sau is at the West of Rā, meaning on his right side. Rā is spoken of here as if he were a human being, turning towards the South as all Egyptians did. His west is his right-hand side. Even now the Egyptian fellaheen in their language do not often say right and left, they generally make use of the points of the compass: west of thee, etc.

CHAPTER CLXXV.

Chapter of not dying a second death in the Netherworld.

O Thoth (1)! What has become of the children of Nut? they have stirred up hostilities, they have raised storms, they have committed iniquity, they have raised rebellion, they have perpetrated murder, they have done oppression, and thus have acted, the strong against the weak, in all that they have done to me.

Grant, O Thoth, what Tmu hath decreed. Thou seest not the iniquities, thou art not pained at their attacks upon the years, and their invasions upon the months, because they have done their mischiefs in secret.

I am thy pallet, O Thoth, and I bring to thee thine inkstand; I am not one of those who do mischief in secret. Let not mischief be done unto me.

O Tmu! what is this place to which I have journeyed? for it is without water and without air! It is all abyss, utter darkness, sheer perplexity. One liveth here in peace of heart. There is no pleasure of love here. Let there be granted to me glory instead of water, air and pleasures of love; and peace of heart instead of bread and beer.

[Decree this, Tmu, that if I see thy face I shall not be pained by thy sufferings (2) . . . . . Tmu decrees; behold the great gods have given him this mission, he will reign on his throne and he will inherit his throne in the Isle of fire: and for thee I decree that the god may see him as his second self, and that my face may see thy face.

My lord Tmu, what is the duration of my life? Thou art for eternities of eternities, the duration of endless years; and behold I am going to deface all I have done: this earth will become water, an inundation as it was in the beginning. I will remain with Osiris, and I will make my form like another serpent, whom no man will know, and no god will see.

It is good what I have done to Osiris, who is exalted above all the gods. I have given him the power in the region of the Netherworld, and his son Horus will inherit his throne in the Isle of flame. I will make his throne in the boat of millions of (years).

Horus is well established on his seat in order that he may take possession of his place of rest; also I send a soul to Sut in the West, who is exalted above all gods: and I have caused his soul to be guarded in the boat, so that he may feel reverential fear of the divine body (Osiris).]

O my father Osiris! I have done for thee what thy father Rā did for thee. Let me have increase upon earth, let me keep my dwelling place, let my heir be vigorous, let my sepulchre flourish and my dependents upon earth. Let all my adversaries be crushed to pieces with Selk'et (the scorpion goddess) over their ruin. I am thy son, O my father Rā! thou hast been the cause of this Life, Health and Strength. Horus is established upon his throne. Grant that my duration of Life may be that of one who attains beatitude. (3)

NOTES.

The translation and notes of this Chapter, except what is in brackets, are Renouf's work. They are taken from the introduction he published to his edition of the papyrus of Ani (p. 16).

The vignette represents the deceased and his wife worshipping Thoth.

This Chapter is found in the papyrus of Ani, and at greater length in a papyrus of the Museum of Leyden, from which it has been copied by Naville into his edition.

The Leyden text is unfortunately very incomplete, both in the upper and lower parts of the columns. The two texts differ very materially in some of their readings, and will require considerable study before a satisfactory translation can be given.

1. The deceased is evidently supposed to be just arrived in a place of utter darkness and desolation, and expresses his feelings of distress to Thoth in the opening address.

2. [The text of Leyden is much more complete. Owing probably to want of space, the scribe of Ani has shortened his text. There the omissions are so considerable that it is impossible to find a sense. I have often adopted the reading of the Leyden papyrus in the translation of this part of the chapter.]

3. The remaining columns in the Leyden manuscript, although incomplete, enable us to see that the deceased is assimilated throughout to Osiris, as born again in his son Horus. There is a cry of adoration to him in Sutenhenen, and exultation in En-aaref, the whole cycle of the gods is filled with satisfaction at seeing him inherit his throne and rule over the earth. Sut is filled with terror when he sees the change which has taken place; the different generations of mankind, the past, the present, and the future, are in obeisance. Mention is made of the "Hoeing" and of the blood which flowed in Sutenhenen [an allusion to the myth of the destruction of mankind] and of other particulars in connection with Osiris. And the chapter is said to be recited over an image of Horus made of lapis lazuli (or blue material) and placed at the throat of the deceased. It is also to be recited in the Netherworld.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.

Chapter of not dying a second time in the Netherworld.

I execrate the land of the East. I do not go to the dungeon, for I have not done those things which are forbidden by the gods.

For I have passed through the place of purification in the middle of the Meskat; (1) the inviolate god has given me his glorious attributes on the day when the two Earths were united in the presence of the Master of (all) things.

He who knows this chapter is a mighty Chu in the Netherworld.

NOTES.

A short Chapter found in one papyrus only, and consisting of a few sentences taken from various chapters.

1. See Note 19, Chapter 17.

CHAPTER CLXXVII.

Chapter of raising the Chu, of vivifying his soul in the Netherworld.

O Nut, Nut, who created the father out of his earth (1) and Horus after him, who bound his wings as to a hawk and his feathers like Kemhesu, (2) who brought him his soul, and who perfected his words, who showed him his abode in the presence of the stars, the occupiers of the sky, for he is the great star of Nut.

Thou seest *N.* uttering words to the Glorified, for he is the great form who will not rule (?) over them if thou art not among them. Thou seest the head of *N.* as a *ba* (3) (ram); his horns are like those of a sacrificed victim, those of a black ram, born of the ewe who bare him, and suckled by four sheep.

There came to thee Horus with blue eyes, do thou guard Horus with red eyes in his sickness and in his wrath; let his soul not be opposed, let his messengers come to him, and his quick runners (4) hasten to him; let them come on the west side, and one by one (?) march towards thee.

The god has said this: thy words are those of the father of the gods, (5) thy name will be triumphant before the gods; they exalt thee and the cycle of the gods give thee their hands.

Said by the god to the father of the gods: take possession of the door of the *ka* on the horizon, let them throw open their gates; thou art welcome to them, do thou prevail over them, let them advance towards the god (6) . . . . . when they come out they raise their faces, they see him before the great god Amsu (6) . . . . . thy head, I have raised for thee thy head, take possession of it . . . . . his head has perished behind thee, thy head will not perish and what thou hast done before men and gods will not be destroyed.

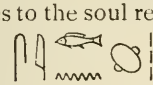
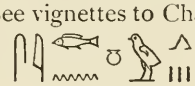
NOTES.

This Chapter is found in the pyramid of Unas (ll. 361–376), where the text is not much better than in the Papyrus London 9900.

1. I believe this obscure expression means Osiris.

2. A form of Horus represented as a crouching hawk, with two feathers on his head (Renouf, *Life Work*, Vol. III, p. 236).

3. Though is written by a bird with a human head, it applies to the soul represented by a ram. See vignettes to Chapter 85.

4.  evidently the word  of the inscription of the "Destruction of mankind," where it refers to the messengers.

5. means properly a hunter, a man of the field, which would have no sense here. Unas reads "the divine fathers." Adopting the reading of Unas in the singular, I read the father of the gods, probably Seb, who is mentioned a little further in the text of the pyramid.

6. Lacunæ.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.

Chapter of raising the body, of giving it eyes, of making it possess ears, of fixing its head, of putting it on its base.

Thou hast received the eye of Horus; (1) thy table is a table of offerings.

Hail, Hunnu, lift up thy heart to purify thy body; they have eaten the eye of Horus, the olive of Heliopolis, (2) they destroy (what is wrong) in the body of Osiris.

(3) The mouth of *N.* had been thirsty; but he will never hunger (any more); *N.* will never thirst; for Chas delivers him and does away with hunger.

O you who fill the vases, you chiefs who distribute bread and cakes, and who have charge of the waterflood; there was ordered for *N.* bread and beer, Rā himself ordered them; he ordered them to those who fill the year with plenty; they seize them (the gifts) and they give him his wheat, his barley, his loaves, for he is the great bull.

Grant to *N.* the charge of the five loaves in the funerary chapel; there are three in heaven for Rā, there are two on earth for the cycle of the gods, and Nu sees them.

O, Rā, be gracious to *N.* in this happy day when *N.* joined Shu and Isis, and when he was united to (Nekhebit); (4) they give bread and beer to *N.*, and they do all the things good and pure in this happy day, the things of Tum, bringing him the things of the eye of Horus . . . whenever he arrives to see the god.

Thou takest possession of water, and thou marchest towards the altar of Sashert: four measures of water, as was commanded by Osiris to *N.* Shu has handed over his wealth to *N.*; they are thy bread and thy beer.

Awake, lofty judge; awake, thou sleeper; awake from thy . . . thy offerings are brought before Thoth and Horus, who comes out from the Nile, and Apuat who comes out of Asert.

It is pure, the mouth of *N.*: the cycle of the gods offers incense to the mouth of *N.* His mouth is pure verily, and his tongue in his mouth, for *N.* hates filth, he is washed from impurity as Sut is washed in the city of the Rehui when he goes with Thoth to heaven.

Feed *N.* with you: let him eat what you eat, drink as you drink, sit as you sit, be mighty as you are mighty, navigate as you navigate. The tent of *N.* is woven in the field of Aarru, his running water is in the Garden of Hotepit. Offerings are made to him among the gods; the drink of *N.* is the wine of Rā.

He goes round the sky like Rā, he travels over the sky like Thoth. *N.* execrates hunger, he does not eat (feel) it, he execrates thirst. *N.* has received bread from the lord of eternity.

He ordered that *N.* should be conceived in the night and born in the morning, close to the follower of Rā, before the morning star.

N. was conceived of *N.* and born of *N.*, he brings you the loaves which he found in the pupil of the eye of Horus, on the bough of the *tennu* tree.

When he came, Khenta Amenta brought him the victuals and the offerings of Horus in his abodes where he lives of them. *N.* lives of them; as Horus drinks, *N.* drinks; his food is on the altar of Sashert. *N.* is welcome to Anubis on his mountain.

Hail, *N.*, thy figure is that which thou hadst on earth, thou art living and renewed every day. Thy face is unveiled, and thou seest the lord of the horizon; he gives bread to *N.* at his hour of the day and at his appointed time in the night. Horus has avenged thee,

he has smashed the jawbones of thy enemies, he has smitten the violent one at the door of his fortress.

Hail, *N.*, thine enemies are no more, in the great hall the scales are right concerning thee, thou makest long strides like Osiris (5) the lord of the arrivals in the Amenta. He arrives when he likes, he sees the great god in his creations, life is given to his nostrils, he is triumphant over his enemies.

Hail, *N.* Thou hatest falsehood, thou propitiatest the lord of (all) things in the night of "stopping the tears," thou receivest sweet life from the mouth of the cycle of the gods, and Thoth is satisfied in giving thee victory over thine enemies.

Nut spreads her wings over thee in her name of the veil of the sky, she giveth thee to be in the following of the great god, thine enemies are no more. She delivers thee of all evil things in her name of Chnumeturit, for she is the great one among her children.

O chief of the hours, in front of Rā, make way for *N.* that he may arrive into the circle of Osiris, the living lord of the two earths, who lives eternally.

N. is in the following of Nefertmu, he is the lotus at the nostrils of Rā . . . . . he is pure, in the presence of the gods; he sees Rā eternally.

NOTES.

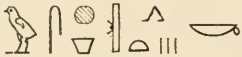
This Chapter, taken from London 9900, is found complete in the pyramid of Unas (l. 166 ff.). Four other pyramids, those of Teta, Pepi I, Merenrā and Pepi II contain the greatest part of it; as also does a stele of the XIIth Dynasty found in Abydos, and belonging to a man called Nehi. Hatshepsu had it copied on both sides of the chamber of offering specially dedicated to her (*Deir el Bahari*, Vol. IV, pl. CIX–XIII and p. 8). In the pyramids as well as at the temple this text is connected with offerings. The representation in the temple may be considered as the vignette to this chapter. We see there the queen sitting before an altar of offerings called

1. The eye of Horus, a generic term applied to a great number of offerings.

2. There is much confusion in the first lines of this chapter.

3. Text evidently incorrect.

4. Taken from Unas.

5. I read  (Lepsius, *Todt.*, 148, 3, title to Chapter 180), to make long strides, means to go about freely.

6. Formula inscribed on the coffin of King Mycerinus, in the British Museum, and on many coffins of the New Empire, especially under the Saites.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.

Chapter of coming forth when going out of yesterday (1) *and coming in the* (*present*) *day, being equipped by one's own hands.*

I am raised from yesterday, I come to-day, I come out of my own creations.

I am the sap coming out of its tree, I am the flow coming out of its form; for I stand before the lord of the white crown, I am gracious; my words are well established before the lord of the red crown, he who avenges (2) his eye.

I died yesterday, but I come to-day; (3) I made my way towards the doorkeeper of the great god; I come forth by day against my enemy; I triumph over him for ever. He is given me, and he will not be rescued from my hand; he will dwindle away in my possession, before the great circle of gods in the Netherworld.

I have been given the diadem of the great goddess which is on the head of the shadow, and on the figure of the living gods. I have made my way . . . . . my enemy is brought to me; he is given me and he will not be rescued from my hand; he will dwindle away in my possession, before the circle of gods of Osiris in his festival, when the inhabitants of the Amenta . . . . . (4) in his name of . . . . .

I am the lord of the red ones in the day of the births, I am the master of the sword, it will not be taken away from me.

I am in my bower, I have the sweet juice from my palm trees; they bring me what is agreeable to my heart.

I come forth in the day against this my enemy; when he is brought to me I triumph over him, he will not be rescued from

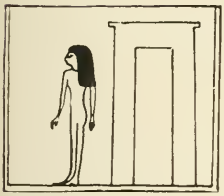
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII, *A. g.*

CHAPTER CLXXXIV, *P. p.*

CHAPTER CLXXXV, *L. a.*

CHAPTER CLXXV. **Papyrus of Ani.**



CHAPTER CLXXIV, *A. f.*

CHAPTER CLXXX, *L. a.*

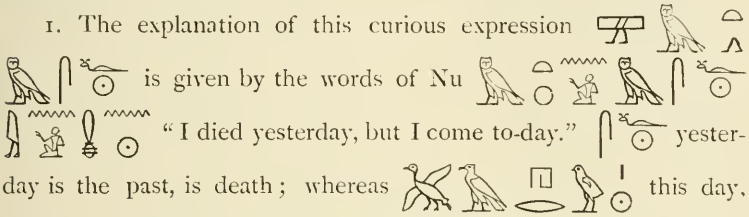
CHAPTER CLXXXVI, *D. a.*

my hand, he will dwindle away in my possession in the presence of the great circle of gods in Ta-tsert, and the queen of the souls, the most mighty.

I rest in the garden of Hotepit, according to the commands of the lords of Cherāba, my figure is high in the presence of the most mighty; I am strong, I rest in the isles of the garden of Aarru.

NOTES.

This Chapter is found in two papyri only: London 9900 *Aa*, and the papyrus of *Nu*. This last text differs considerably from the first at the end of the chapter. The translation is made from *Aa*, with occasional references to *Nu*.

1. The explanation of this curious expression  is given by the words of Nu "I died yesterday, but I come to-day." yesterday is the past, is death; whereas this day, the present day, is life. Leaving what has been, and coming to what is, is only a figure meaning resurrection after death.

2. I have kept Renouf's translation, although I consider it is erroneous. The word , means *reconstitute*, *restore*, and not avenge. The common expression, Horus the avenger of his father, should be translated: "Horus who reconstitutes the body of his father" torn to pieces by Sut.

3. These words are taken from the text of Nu.

4. In both papyri there are words omitted here.

(*To be continued.*)

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT.

By PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*, *&c.*

Mr. George W. Fraser has allowed me to publish some Greek inscriptions found in Egypt and belonging to him, two of which are of considerable interest.

(1) The first is on a stela discovered at Kom el-Aḥmar, five miles south of Minia, and reads according to my copy as follows :—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΙ
ΚΑΙ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΦΡΟΥΡΑΡΧΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΥΠ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ

"To King Ptolemy and Arsinoê Philadelphus, Ptolemy the commandant of the garrison and the soldiers under him."

So few inscriptions of any kind have been discovered at the Kom el-Aḥmar of Minia, often identified with the old Egyptian Heben,[1] that this well-preserved Ptolemaïc text is of special value. It shows that a garrison of Greek soldiers was established there at the beginning of the Ptolemaïc period. The stela was dedicated between B.C. 277, when the marriage of Ptolemy II to his sister Arsinoê II Philadelphus seems to have taken place, and B.C. 270, when according to the stela of Mendes, now in the Cairo Museum, the queen "went to heaven" in the 9th month of the king's 15th year.

[1] A broken stela found at Kom el-Aḥmar, and in Mr. Fraser's possession, calls Horus "the lord of Heben, the august one of the sky."

(2) A second inscription on a wooden cross, and of the Christian period, came into Mr. Fraser's hands in 1890. The original of this I have not seen. Mr. Fraser's copy is as follows :—

ΚΑCΤΟΡ
ΟC ΠΥΛΩ
ΝΟΜΟ[Υ]ΕΡΜ
ΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΟΥ
ΚΩΜΗC
ΤΕΡ[Ε]ΨΕΒΕ

"(The monument) of Castor Pylo(n), of the Hermopolite nome, from the village of Terepsebe."

(3) The next inscription is on a granite slab found at Samanûd, the classical Sebennytus, in 1898. It is much obliterated, but a prolonged study of the stone in various lights finally enabled me to make out the greater part of the text :—

1. . . . . .
2. ΤΟ . . . ΟΥ . . . . ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΝ
3. ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΕΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ
4. ΟΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΕΣ
5. ΚΑΙ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΣΥΝΠΟΣΙΟΝ
6. ΓΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ

"(To) . . . . . and chief councillor and priest of the king and founder of the place, the Macedonians from the gymnasium of the Herakleion, both the officers and the ranks, and those who share in the mess, on account of his kindness to them."

We may gather that there was a chapel of Heraklês at Sebennytus, which adjoined the gymnasium. It was from Heraklês that the Ptolemies claimed to be descended (Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 219). I cannot find any other examples of the curious phrases in lines 5 and 6, *ἐπὶ στασέων*, which must mean "the ranks," and *οἱ συνπόσιον ζευόμενοι*, "those who eat the common meal."

(4) The following inscription was copied by Mr. Fraser in 1895 from the base of a statue from Bubastis :—

ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΘΕΥΔΟΤΟΥ ΒΟΙΒΑΣΤΙ	"Galatea, the daughter of Theodotus, to the goddess Bubastis"

The form Θευδότου for Θεοδότου is Dorian, probably Kretan; Βοιβαστι, however, for Βουβάστιδι is Æolic rather than Dorian.

(5) In 1888, I found an altar with an inscription upon it on the top of the cliff to the north of Tehna (north of Minia). The altar lay in the quarries out of which it had been cut, and as the name of the emperor upon it was erased, it was clear that a revolution must have taken place before it could be removed to the place where it was intended it should be erected. Other portions of the inscription also were injured, and I could make but an imperfect copy of it during the short time I was upon the spot. Subsequently Mr. Fraser excavated at Tehna, where he discovered some important tombs of the Vth Dynasty, and took a squeeze of the altar inscription. This he placed in my hands, and I am thus enabled to give the text of the inscription in full. My reading of it is as follows :—

1. ΥΠΕΡ CΩΤΗΡΙΑC [ΚΑΙ]
2. ΝΕΙΚΗC ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ[ΤΟΡΟC]
3. ΔΟΜ[ΙΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑ]ΙC[ΑΡΟC]
4. CЄΒΑCΤΟΥ [ΓЄΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ]
5. ΔΙΙ ΜЄΓΙCΤΩ ЄΥΧ[ΗΝ]
6. ΤΙΤΟC ЄΓΝΑΤΙΟC ΤΙΒЄΡΙΑΝ
7. ΟC.Ρ ΛЄΓЄΩΝΟC Γ̄ ⫽ ΚΥΡΗΝΙΑΚ[ΗC]
8. ЄΠΙ ΤΗC ΛΑΤΟΜΙΑC ΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΟΥ
9. CΤΡΩCΙC ΤΗC ΠΟ[Λ]Ε[Ω]C
10. ΑΛЄΞΑΝΔΡЄΙΑC

"For the safety and victory of the Emperor Domitian Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, to Zeus the Supreme a vow is made by Titus Egnatius Tiberianus, centurion (?) of the third Cyrenaic legion, at the quarries of the place from which the paving of the city of Alexandria has come."

THE EGYPTIAN KING SHARU, OR SORIS.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*, *&c.*

Mr. Somers Clarke and I have paid two visits together to the rock near El-Kab, on which are the cartouches of Sharu and Khufu, described in "*Proceedings*," March, 1899, and have taken several rubbings of them on both occasions. The hieroglyphics come out very clearly in the rubbings, and with the help of the latter it is easy to trace the characters in the originals. Mr. Green was right in seeing the legs of the "chicken" in what I had supposed to be the chicken itself, and the body of the bird in what I had given as , but he was wrong in transforming the into , and , the eagle, into , the chicken. The first cartouche—that which stands in a funerary boat—is: . Sharu, as I have already said, is the Soris of Manetho. The two cartouches of Khufu, which are by the same hand as that of Sharu, are written in the ordinary way, and are not in a funerary boat; from which we may infer that Sharu was recently dead.

I have received a letter from Mr. Green which explains how his photograph came to be so inaccurate. He says: "I sent an inked photograph to the Secretary of the *S.B.A.*, to show how I think we should read the cartouche and thus to act as a key to the real photograph. Unfortunately the 'key' only was published." It thus turns out that the real "hand-copy" was not mine but Mr. Green's.

EL-KAB,
January 24th, 1904.

It is true that Mr. Green sent me two photographs, one with the outlines marked out with ink, and one in its original state. But I did not understand from him that *both* were to be reproduced. Moreover, my recollection of the untouched photograph is that it was so very indistinct that it was quite impossible to make a useful reproduction of it.—SECRETARY.

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

V.

The Genealogies and Lists in Nehemiah.

BY SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., &c.*

(*Continued from page* 69.)

Let us now turn to chapter x of Nehemiah. This chapter has almost universally been treated as very corrupt, and as an interpolation. I believe that it was also the actual composition of the original editors of the Masoretic text, and did not occur in the Septuagint. It begins with a long list of names of those who are said to have sealed with Nehemiah.

First we have a list of priests. Now, this list of priests is almost exactly the same as a similar list given in chapter xii. I will put the two lists as they occur in the Hebrew Bible side by side, merely altering slightly the order in order to compare them.

Chapter x, *verses* 2–8.	*Chapter* xii, *verses* 1–7.
1 Seraiah.	Seraiah.
2 Azariah.	Ezra.
3 Jeremiah.	Jeremiah.
4 Amariah.	Amariah.
5 Hattush.	Hattush.
6 Shebaniah.	Shechaniah.
7 Malluch.	Malluch.
8 Harim.	Rehum.*
9 Meremoth.	Meremoth.
10 Ginnethon.	Ginnetho.
11 Abijah.	Abijah.
12 Mijamin.	Miamin.
13 Maaziah.	Maadiah.
14 Bilgai.	Bilgah.
15 Shemaiah.	Shemaiah.

* This is a scribe's error for Harim, as is shown by verse 15 of the same chapter, two letters having been transposed.

It is plain therefore that out of twenty-one names in the list of priests in chapter x, and of twenty-two in chapter xii, fifteen are the same. How is this possible if both documents are genuine? In chapter x the priests are said to have been those who sealed themselves *with Nehemiah* and *Zedekiah*, while in chapter xii they are said to have been the priests who went up with *Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel and Jeshua*. How is this possible under any system of chronology, least of all under that which is current among both the orthodox and the great pontiffs of criticism, who would put Zerubbabel in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, to reconcile these facts?

It is most clear that one statement or the other is wrong, and it seems to me that the one that is most wrong, and is a mere artificial story, is that in chapter x. The names of the additional six priests occurring in the list in that chapter and not in chapter xii, are very suspicious looking, namely Pashur, *Malchiyah*, *Obadiah*, *Daniel*, *Baruch* and Meshullam, while the names of those in chapter xii are attested by the subsequent narrative in which their sons are mentioned with their respective fathers. Pashur and Malchiah are mentioned in verse 12 of chapter xi, where Zechariah is said to be the son of Pashur, the son of Malchiah, making it improbable that the two should occur together as contemporary priests in Nehemiah x. Obadiah, Daniel, and Baruch are merely the names of the prophets so named, while Meshullam was the son of Ginnethon (Nehemiah, chapter xii), and belonged to a lower generation.

Again, Lord Arthur Harvey has remarked as very singular (may I say ominous), that nine of the twenty-two priests in Nehemiah x, 1–8, xii, 1–7, have the same names as the heads of courses in David's time (see 1 Chronicles xxiv). After the ennumeration of the priests' chapter x continues: "And the Levites, namely, Jeshua the son of Azaniah, Binnui of the sons of Henadad, Kadmiel; and their brethren, Shebaniah, Hodjah, Kelita, Pelaiah, Hanan, Mica, Rehob, Hashabiah, Zaccur, Sherebiah, Shebaniah, Hodiah, Bani, Beninu." These Levites are named among those who sealed with Nehemiah. They are almost the same names as the Levites mentioned in chapter ix of Nehemiah, verses 4 and 5, but what is more remarkable, they also occur again in chapter xii among the Levites who went up with *Zerubbabel*, and could not therefore be contemporaries of Nehemiah. Those in chapter xii, 8, are thus enumerated. Moreover, the Levites, Jeshua, Binnui, Kadmiel, Sherebiah, Judah, and Mattaniah.

Again, the list of the chiefs of the people in chapter x, 14–19 inclusive, is a mutilated extract from the list in Ezra ii and Nehemiah vii, and some are apparently names of places and not of men who could be sealed, *ex. gr.*, Pahath, Moab, and Elam.

The whole list in chapter x is clearly a sophistication of a late date, and made up in the artificial way that the rest of the chapter seems to be, and was perhaps written to exalt the Levites, and it seems to me quite impossible to attribute it to the compiler of the book, while it bears every mark of the handiwork of the much later editors of the Masoretic text.

It is curious that in the Arabic version the greater part of both chapter x and chapter xi are missing, as if some suspicion had attached to them. Of chapter x we merely have a condensed sentence in these terms: Nehemia the son of Hanania chief of the priests, and Zerabia, Seraia, Azaria, Jeremia Phashcon and the rest of the congregation.

Let us now move on again. As we have seen in the previous memoir, and as has been generally conceded, verses 1 and 2 of chapter xi of Nehemiah originally followed immediately after verse 4 of chapter vii of the same book, and complete its story. From verse 3 to verse 36 inclusive, however, the contents of this chapter have a very suspicious look, since they are again an iteration and duplication of matter already contained in the same work as originally written. They form in fact an artificial narrative constructed from bits of patchwork. The most interesting of these are the statements it has in common with Chronicles i, 9. Thus:—

NEHEMIAH, Chapter xi.	1 CHRONICLES, Chapter ix.
Verse 3. These are the chief of the province that dwelt in Jerusalem . . to wit Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the Nethinims, and the children of Solomon's servants.	Verse 2. Now the first inhabitants that dwelt in their possessions in their cities were, the Israelities, the priests, Levites, and Nethinims.
,, 4. And in Jerusalem dwelt certain of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin. Of the children of Judah: *Athaiah* the son of Uzziah, the son of Zechariah, the son of Amariah . . . . of the children of Perez.	,, 3. And in Jerusalem dwelt of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin . . . .
	,, 4. Uthai the son of Ammihud, the son of Omri, the son of Imri, the son of Bani, of the children of Pharez, the son of Judah.

NEHEMIAH, Chapter xi.	1 CHRONICLES, Chapter ix.
Verse 5. Maaseiah the son of Baruch . . . . . the son of Shiloni	Verse 5. And of the Shilonites: Asaiah the first-born and his sons . . . .
,, 7. And these are the sons of Benjamin: Sallu the son of Meshullam, the son af Joed . . .	,, 7. And of the sons of Benjamin: Sallu the son of Meshullam, the son of Hodaviah . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
,, 10. Of the priests: Jedaiah the son of Joiarib, Jachin.	,, 10. And of the priests: Jedaiah, and Jehoiarib, and Jachin.
,, 11. Seraiah the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, was the ruler of the house of God.	,, 11. And Azariah the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, the ruler of the house of God.
,, 12. . . . and Adaiah the son of Jeroham, the son of Pelaliah, the son of Amzi	,, 12. And Adaiah the son of Jeroham, the son of Pashur, the son of Malchijah.
,, 13. And Amashsai, the son of Azareel, the son of Ahasai, the son of Meshillemoth, the son of Immer . . .	and Maasai the son of Adiel, the son of Jahzerah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Meshillemith, the son of Immer . . .
,, 15. Also of the Levites: Shemaiah the son of Hashub, the son of Azrikam, the son of Hashabiah, the son of Bunni . . .	,, 14. And of the Levites: Shemaiah, the son of Hashub, the son of Azrikam, the son of Hashabiah, of the sons of Merari.
,, 17. And Mattaniah the son of Micha, the son of Zabdi, the son of Asaph . . . and Bakbukiah . . . . and Abda, the son of Shammua, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun.	,, 15. And Bakbakkar, and . . . and Mattaniah the son of Micah, the son of Zichri, the son of Asaph.
	,, 16. And Obadiah the son of Shemaiah, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun . . .
,, 19. Moreover the porters Akkub, Talmon, and their brethren.	,, 17. And the porters were, Shallum and Akkub, and Talmon, and Ahiman, and their brethren.

It is perfectly plain that these two lists are in a very great part the same, yet the one in Nehemiah is professedly contemporary with Nehemiah himself, while that of 1 Chronicles i explicitly refers to the condition of things at the first return from the Captivity. The latter clearly points to the time before the second

Temple was built, and when the Israelites still worshipped in a temporary dwelling (see Chronicles i, 19, 21, 23).

It seems to me therefore quite plain that Nehemiah xi, beginning with verse 3, is a foreign boulder in the narrative, referring to other times altogether. It begins and ends abruptly without connection with what precedes or follows it, and was probably not contained in the original text, but was composed and inserted by the editors of the Masoretic text, and had a distinct motive or Tendenz as the Germans call it.

If it should be thought that this argument is not conclusive, and that chapter xi of Nehemiah belongs to his time, it would, oddly enough, establish another point for which I have argued. As Dr. Alexander Barret says in his Synopsis, III, 459, "If the names occurring, *ex. gr.*, in verse 4 of the chapter, be compared with those who came back with Zerubbabel, it will appear they are the 4th, 5th and 6th generations from Zerubbabel, which is a demonstration that Nehemiah did not come to Jerusalem in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, but in that of Artaxerxes Mnemon."

Let us now turn to Nehemiah xii. The earlier part of this chapter, verses 1–26 inclusive, has also been generally treated as an interpolation, but in this case we perhaps have to do not with a mere sophistication, but with a genuine narrative, one most clearly composed, however, long after the time of Nehemiah, and having therefore nothing to do with his memoirs. We have seen how closely connected the list is with that in chapter x. It begins, as we have mentioned, with a list of twenty-two priests and of eight Levites who are said to have returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. These lists are preparatory and introductory to the succeeding clauses, which are the real gist of the chapter, beginning with verse 10, in which we are first told that Jeshua (the companion of Zerubbabel) begat Joiakim, Joiakim begat Eliashib, Eliashib begat Joida, Joida begat Jonathan and Jonathan begat Jaddua. This short genealogy has been thought by many to be an interpolation. It seems to me to be of the same date as the rest of this particular narrative in chapter xii, and to show that the whole of it was not composed until or after the High Priesthood of Jaddua, who, according to Josephus, was a contemporary of Alexander, a fact which suits the inferences from the generations in the genealogy very fairly.

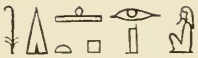
We are next told that in the days of Joiakim (*i.e.*, the son of Jeshua) the representatives of the above named twenty-two priests were twenty-

two others, whose names are duly given, each one as the successor of a corresponding priest named in the previous list; the two lists being thus closely linked and clearly belonging to one narrative, in which, however, two verses seem interpolated quite parenthetically and *apropos* of nothing, namely, verses 8 and 9, both referring to the Levites and Porters. These verses 8 and 9 are in part a duplication of verses 24 and 25 of the same chapter. The variants are however interesting. In verse 8 the Levites named are Jeshua, Binnui, Kadmiel, Sherebiah, Judah, and Mattaniah. In verse 24 they are Hashabiah, Sherebiah, and Jeshua the son of Kadmiel. Here it seems clear that Binnui, like Bani in a previous chapter, has been read son, and Jeshua is made a son of Kadmiel, which is quite inconsistent with other statements about him, where he is called the son of Jozadek, as by the prophet Haggai, and in earlier chapters of Ezra and Nehemiah; while in chapter x, verse 9, he is called the son of Azaniah. Nowhere else in fact is he called son of Kadmiel, unless Binnui, in verse 8, is to be translated "son," and not treated as a proper name. Hashabiah, who is called a scribe in verse 24, is called a priest in verse 21 of this same chapter xii. While Mattaniah, who is called a Levite in verse 8, is called a porter in verse 25. Meshallam is called a priest in verse 13, and a porter in verse 25. In verse 17 of chapter xi, Mattaniah, Bakbukiah, and Obadia or Abda are enumerated as Levites, and Talmon and Akkub are alone named among the porters, while in verse 25 of chapter xii the four men just named are numbered as porters. This shows how utterly unreliable and artificial the list in chapter xii is. If we are to make any sense of it at all, we must exclude verses 8 and 9, and postpone verses 22 and 23, and make verse 24 follow immediately on verse 21. It seems plain therefore, that in chapter xii, verse 7, about the priests, should be immediately followed by verse 10, also about the priests, and continue down to the end of verse 21, and verse 21 by verse 24, in which the Levites are enumerated, the list of priests being immediately followed by a corresponding list of Levites. This list of Levites occupies verse 24, and would be logically followed by verses 22 and 23, which are incongruous and unintelligible as they stand, and then again by verse, 25 referring to the porters. Verses 22, 23, and 26 prove that this narrative in chapter xii was composed long after the time of Nehemiah. Jaddua, as Josephus tells us, lived in the reign of Alexander the Great, and the king styled Darius the Persian clearly points, as

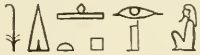
every one seems agreed, to Darius Codomannus. Apart from this, the contents of verse 23 are equally conclusive. This verse reads: "The sons of Levi, the chief of the fathers, were written in the book of the Chronicles, even unto the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib." Again we read in verse 26: "These were in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, and in the days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest, the scribe." This is really only consistent with the story having been written down long after the death of Ezra and Nehemiah. I believe the most probable solution of the inversions, contradictions, etc., in this chapter, from verse 1 to verse 26 inclusive, to be that, as in the cases previously criticized, the genealogies and lists contained in it were artificial productions of the editors of the Masoretic edition of the Bible. From verse 27 to the end of the chapter the narrative has been generally accepted as belonging to Nehemiah's memoirs, with which it has very close ties in matter and form. Like them, it is written in the first person, and refers to the building and dedication of the walls.

Chapter xiii has been generally treated as a continuation of the same story, and I so treated it in my previous paper. A further study of it has made this seem very doubtful to me. It is so like in form and matter to the two concluding chapters of Ezra; it contains so much that is very like Ezra's own writing, and is specially appropriate to him as a priest, rather than to Nehemiah, who was a secular prince. It brings Ezra so closely in contact with the high priest Eliashib, as he was brought in contact in the book of Ezra with Eliashib's son, that it seems to me, unless it be a late composition made up for the most part of duplicated materials, it belongs to the text of "Ezra" rather than that of Nehemiah.

The matters of interest in the two books I have criticized in these papers are by no means exhausted, and their importance cannot be exaggerated, for, as I believe, a really final scientific criticism of the Old Testament will have to begin with these books. Before I deal with other points, however, I must first discuss the Septuagint text of the two books of Chronicles, to which I hope to turn in the next paper. Meanwhile I will conclude by referring my readers to Prof. Torrey's remarks on the issues, contained in his work on "Ezra-Nehemiah," pp. 63 and 64, with which I am in almost complete agreement.

THE FORMULA  IN THE LIGHT OF MYTHOLOGY.

BY G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

In collecting the mythological facts connected with funerary offerings, among others I have found the following, which seem to have a bearing on the  formula.

1. Seb gave gifts to Osiris—

   For in a hymn to Osiris (*Records of the Past*, IV, 100) are the words, "To him (Osiris) Seb orders offerings to be presented," and also,
   "What thy father Seb has commanded for thee, let that be done unto thee," immediately followed by the above-named formula.

2. He gave them in Annu, for—

   Osiris rose in Annu (*vide* the Bennu myth) through the Gate of Seb; for the deceased, otherwise Osiris, passed through the Gate of Seb on his resurrection (*Book of the Dead*, ch. LXVIII).
   Therefore the Gate of Seb is in Annu; proof of which is found in the vignette (Wilk., III, 349) of the Bennu, the risen Osiris, sitting in the sacred tree of Annu (Wiedemann, *Rel. of the Egyptians*, 156) *outside* a gate, which must be that of Seb.

Therefore Seb would give his offerings to Osiris, when they met, which would be in Annu; that he *did* do so is shown by the following quotations:—

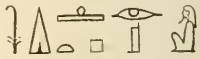
> "Offerings in Annu" (Budge, *Egyptian Rel.*, 124).
> "Let him live upon the Bread of Seb" (*Book of the Dead*, ch. LXVIII).
> "Cakes of Annu" (*Book of the Dead*, ch. CLXIX, ll. 21, 22).

On finding Seb so closely connected with offerings, I collected what I could concerning him, and found that:—

3. Seb was a king, for he was—

> The father of Osiris, to whom Shu made over his (Seb's) possessions (*Book of the Dead*, ch. XVII), and Osiris is a king, therefore Seb was before him.
> The fourth king of Egypt (Manetho, *Cory's Ancient Fragments*).
> The heavenly prototype of the kings of Egypt (*Creation Records*, p. 206), who speak of him as the founder of their dynasty (*Creation Records*, p. 205), and Thothmes IV calls his throne "the throne of Seb" (*Records of the Past*, XII, 45, 48), while Men-kau-Ra is said to be "of the race of Seb" (*vide* Coffin in B. M.).

Therefore the term king might well be applied to him in any case, more especially so, in connection with the giving of offerings, when the action took place in his own city of Annu, to whose cycle of gods he belonged (Wiedemann, *Rel. of Egyptians*, 107).

Now has not all this some bearing on the  formula, for would not the devout Egyptian, who knew his mythology, have this story of Osiris in his mind when praying for offerings for his deceased relative, and from the quotations above we see he expected them to be received in Annu, when he rose, like Osiris; therefore was not Osiris asked to do for the deceased, what had been done for him by the then god of the dead?

For Seb was the earliest god of the dead (*cf.* Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 93), and Osiris was the great prototype of risen souls

first, and then became god of the dead afterwards, and so undertaking Seb's duties.

That is to say, the suppliant in praying to Osiris, or Anubis, or another god of the dead, for offerings, first quotes the precedent, showing reason why the justified, therefore risen, soul should be granted offerings, and then goes on to ask for them. The translation would then be something like :—[As] the king (Seb) granted offerings [to Osiris, so] may Osiris [(in his turn) grant offerings (to the Osiris, *i.e.* the deceased)]. May he grant oxen and geese, etc. . . . . to the ka of the Osiris . . . That is to say, the ordinary formula is an abridgement of a fuller form, which we find in the earliest texts, such as: (Sheikh Saïd), or (*Pepi Rec.*, V, 169), which show two parallel sentences, from the second of which the identical words are omitted, to form the abridgement, and they also show two nouns, subjects of their sentences, set off against each other.

For is a noun, for it takes a det. (*Book of Breathings*, Dr. Budge, "*Book of the Dead*," p. 514), and it is at least once replaced by the sign (Goodwin, *Zeitschrift*, 1876, p. 102), showing it not to be the Pharaoh, but a god, and this god and king, connected with offerings in Annu, is Seb.

That these sentences cannot be two co-ordinate prayers or statements is shown by the following in the singular, unless more gods are mentioned, when one gets in the plural. Therefore only or are referred to, not both, and the omission of the first portion in , etc. (Griffiths, *P.S.B.A.*, XVIII, p. 199), shows that is not necessary to the sense, and is only dependent upon the second phrase which is the principal clause.

In late times another variant is found . . . . . (*Book of Breathings*, "*Book of the Dead*,"

p. 514, Dr. Budge's Edition), when the scribes, apparently forgetting the grammar of the phrase, and knowing the story referred to, made sense of the four words, as they stood, by inserting ⁓ before Osiris, making it read, "The king gave gifts *to* Osiris, . . . May he (the latter) grant . . . . ."

These translations are only inferred from the mythological facts, but, whatever translation may finally be proved to be right, it cannot ignore their existence, for the giving of offerings to the deceased must, like everything else in his existence, find its counterpart in the history of Osiris.

THE DE DUABUS VIIS CHAPTERS OF THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES, OR DIDACHÊ.

BY JOSEPH OFFORD.

When in 1901 Mr. E. Gilbert Highton, M.A. and I presented an account of the "De Duabus Viis,[1]" a new Latin version of the first six chapters of the Didachê,[2] mention was made of the Arabic version of practically a parallel portion of the treatise published by Iselin.[3]

M. de Ricci has recently kindly handed me for the purpose of comparison a Latin translation of the Arabic text, which appeared in "Bessarione," and is by Professor Umberto Benigni;[4] he also gives the Arabic of the life of Schneudi, which is a translation from the Coptic, of which version several manuscripts exist. Prof. Benigni also prints a Latin translation of the Greek "Didachê," his own of the Arabic text, which he takes from Amélineau's edition in Vol. IV of the French School at Cairo,[5] and the same matter taken from the "Ecclesiastical and Apostolical Canons,"[6] both in the Greek and Coptic forms, the last from Lagarde's "Ægyptiaca."

[1] *Doctrina XII Apostolorum; una cum antiqua versione latina prioris partis de Duabus Viis; primum edidit.* Joseph Schlecht.

[2] *Proceedings*, March, 1901.

[3] L. Iselin, *Eine bisher unbekannte Version des ersten Theiles der Apostellehre.* Leipzic, 1895.

[4] Bessarione, 1898, 311–329, *Didaché Coptica Duarum Viarum Recensio Coptica Monastica, Schnudii Homilis Attributa per Arabicam Versionem Superstes.*

[5] Tome IV, *Monuments pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Egypt Chrétienne.*

[6] F. X. Funk, *Doctrina duodecem Apostolorum. Canones Apostolorum Ecclesiastici ac Reliquæ Doctrinæ de Duabus Viis Expositiones Veteres.*

In his introduction Prof. Benigni states as a fact of great importance, that the Sahidic recension, from which the Arabic version is derived, is "nec Barnabæ Epistolâ sed ex Doctrinâ Apostolorum (vulgo Didaché) deprompta," and that "Lectione expleta et analytica comparatione instituâ, tandem hoc nihi constabat, haberi novam Diarum viarum" rescensionem "sahidica dialecto jam confectam nunc vero Arabica versione superstitem Copticis monachis accomadatam ex Didachê directo derivatem."

He considers it proved that the recension of the Didachê from which the Sahidic-Arabic version is derived is not that of Bryennios. For of chapter I, paragraphs 3 to 6 are missing; of chapter II, paragraph 1 is different; of chapter IV, paragraphs 9 to 13 inclusive, and of chapter VI, paragraph 2, are absent from the Sahidic. (These are also absent from the Greek and Coptic Canons, indicating that the Sahidic is based upon a text nearer to the one they sprang from than is the Bryennios Didachê.) Also paragraphs 6 of chapter II, and 4 of chapter III, and 14 of chapter IV, in the Sahidic, have additional matter to Bryennios.

On the other hand, in chapter III, paragraph 3, which is in Bryennios, and not in Schlecht's Latin,[7] *is* in the Sahidic, and paragraph 4 appears based upon a longer part of the parallel text of Bryennios than the Latin is, as does paragraph 8, which indicates knowledge of matter in Bryennios absent in the Latin. Finally, none of the additions and variations to the Bryennios Didachê peculiar to the "Ecclesiastical (or Apostolic) Canons" are found in the Sahidic version.

Anyone who compares the two newly found versions, viz., the Latin and Sahidic, will see numerous variations. Of the Latin text the first paragraph of chapter I, and paragraphs 4, and 9 to 14 of chapter IV, and paragraph 2 of chapter V, are wanting in the Sahidic, whilst paragraph 3 of chapter III and many other portions of the Sahidic are absent in the Latin.

The differences are so frequent that the two texts do not appear to be derived from the same family of manuscripts, but they quite

[7] It should be noted that the first sentence of chapter III of Bryennios only is present in Schlecht's Latin. (And all the chapters, 9 to 14 of chapter IV, are also to be found there.) But it is curious that this first sentence, *τούτων δε τῶν λόγον ἡ διδαχή ἐστιν αὕτη*, of Bryennios is omitted, for it is in all the known manuscripts of whatever version of the Didaché.

coincide[8] in omitting the three long paragraphs at the end of chapter I of the Bryennios text, and so are copied from manuscripts which agreed in not containing these.

They are thus allied to the versions of the "Two Ways" incorporated in the "Syntagma-Doctrina;" the "Didascalia" (or Faith of the 318 Fathers); and the "Ecclesiastical (or Apostolic) Canons;" and Barnabas; but not with that followed by the "Apostolic Constitutions."

Two interesting matters should be mentioned; first—the Sahidic in I, 1, omits the words "lucis et tenebrarum. In his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus aequitatis alter iniquitatis," which are in Schlecht's, and the Melk manuscript, Latin, and we know from Barnabas were in the extremely early version he used.

Secondly, chapter I, end of paragraph 2, agrees with Bryennios' Didachê, Ireneaus, Cyprian, and Theophilus in giving the negative form as in the Egyptian confession in the "Book of the Dead" (see also Tobit iv, 15; and Lampridius says Alexander Severus liked so to quote it).

The paragraph appended to the Latin version of the De Duabus Viis edited by Dr. Schlecht, which translated read: "If after taking counsel thou shalt daily do these things, thou wilt be nigh to the living God, but if thou shalt not do them, thou wilt be far from the truth. Lay up all these things in thy mind, and thou shalt not be beguiled of thy hope. But by these sacred exercises thou wilt arrive at the crown through" (our) "Lord Jesus Christ who reigns and rules with God the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever, Amen," which is not in the Greek of Bryennios, is also absent from the Sahidic, and therefore appears to be a somewhat late addition to the treatise.

The special value of this Coptico-Arabic copy of the "Didachê" arises from the fact that it shows, beyond a doubt, that the theological additions which form the matter of the "Apostolic Constitutions," and the "Ecclesiatical Canons," were accretions grouped around the primitive text, as revealed to us in its short original form by the first found Bryennios text, and now by the Latin and Sahidic ones. Further, that centuries after the augmented versions were passing current pretending to contain only the primitive early christian document, manuscripts existed in Egypt

[8] The Latin has a few words of the first sentence.

presenting only the veritable shorter recension, one of which has been incorporated in the life of Schneudi; and others also in Europe of the same character, specimens of which have come down to us in the copies at Melk and Lorch.

The Sahidic recension, it should be noted, is the shortest of all, omitting the passages the "Apostolic Constitutions" quote, viz., paragraph 3 to 6 of chapter I, which are in the Bryennios Greek Didachê, though apparently unknown to Barnabas; and also omitting from chapter IV, paragraphs 9–13, which are in both the Greek and Latin versions.

It is a great gain in the study of patristic literature to be able to trace, how, as doctrines or ritual changed it was thought fitting and proper to add sentences to primitive documents, coinciding with the new views, such additions subsequently being in many cases appealed to as the foundations for dogmas, on the ground that they were part and parcel of the original matter, to which we now know they were total strangers.

NOTES ON SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

BY STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*

III.

3. PERSONAL NAMES ON HEBREW INTAGLIOS.—With the exception of the six-lined Siloam inscription, practically the only specimens of ancient Hebrew writing comprise a number of inscribed seals, scarabs, and pottery-stamps; and whilst the legends upon these consist almost entirely of personal names, the Siloam inscription is absolutely devoid of a single example of these frequently valuable clues. Ranging as they evidently do over a fairly extensive period, it might be thought that the seals, etc., must constitute valuable evidence for tracing the development of the old Hebrew alphabet. Unfortunately Hebrew epigraphy has not the series of dated monuments which Phœnician and Aramaic possess, and the student is obliged to rely upon the palæographical data and a comparison with the Moabite Stone (middle of the ninth century) as one limit, and the Jewish coins (135 B.C. to 135 A.D.) as the other. It must be remembered, also, that the assumption that the Siloam inscription belongs to the time of Hezekiah (about 700 B.C.) rests upon precarious grounds, and however convenient it may be to assign a date to a seal by the help of this inscription, no cautious student would treat the result as any other than a provisional one.

Before we can consider the bearing of the old Hebrew seals, scarabs and pottery-stamps upon the problem of Hebrew palæography, it is desirable to consider more closely the internal evidence as suggested by the personal names. To the archæologist the external data, the material, the shape, the ornamentation and symbolism raise interesting questions; to the student of the Bible a study of the names, as I hope to show, is not without profit. The study is complicated by the fact that in not a few cases it is extremely difficult to determine whether a seal is actually Hebrew, Phœnician or Aramaic. For example, it may bear an Israelite name and yet be of Aramæan workmanship, and consequently in several instances an object can only be vaguely classed as "Old Semitic." Further, there is sometimes the possibility that the legend is considerably later than the seal or scarab, and in this class of objects in particular the question of forgery not infrequently arises.

Hebrew seals, etc., are very generally characterized by a double stroke separating the two lines in which the legend is written. The omission of בן ("son") between the names of father and son is another not uncommon feature which seems to be without a parallel in the Old Testament. When the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* publishes the Hebrew inscriptions it will be possible to consider with more precision these and other characteristic details of Hebrew seals, etc.; in the meantime, the following notes upon the personal names *as a whole* will give some idea at least of their relation to those in the Old Testament. With this object in view it will be convenient to treat them in classes.*

In the first place, it may be observed that the tendency to perpetuate names of the same type in the same family is illustrated by such examples as (*a*) הושע צפן (Hoshea son of Ṣaphan),[1] מנחם שבני (Menahem son of Shebni), נחם עבדי (Nahum son of Abdi), עזר חגי (Ezer son of Haggai), and (*b*) אלשגב בת אלשמע (Elsegub daughter of Elishama), עמדיהו בת שבניהו (Immadiyahu daughter of Shebaniah), שבניהו עזריהו (Shebaniah son of Azariah), יהושע בן עשיהו (Joshua son of Asaiah). This feature, as Professor Gray has pointed out, appears in the Jewish names upon the Bodleian Aramaic papyrus edited by Mr. Cowley, in the Old Testament, and elsewhere.[2]

Names compounded with the divine name Yahwè are comparatively common. As יהו-, it appears at the end of twenty names. Of these, seventeen are familiar:—Benaiah, Hananiah, Micaiah, Maaseiah, Nehemiah, Neriah, Nethaniah, Obadiah,* Azariah,* Uzziah, Asaiah,* Pedaiah, Zephaniah, Remaliah, Shebaniah,[3]

* The names are taken from published material, but it has not been considered necessary to give the references for each. Frequent use has been made of Professor Nöldeke's invaluable article "Names" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and of Professor G. B. Gray's *Hebrew Proper Names*.

[1] The transliterations are adapted (where possible) to the ordinary spelling of Biblical names; but needless to say נחם might equally well be Naham, and עזר might be pronounced Azzur, etc. Hence it has been impossible to be consistent throughout. Letters surmounted by a point are doubtful, and names marked with an asterisk occur more than once.

[2] G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 8 *sq.*; *P.S.B.A.*, 1903, p. 262.

[3] The genuineness of this name (which the LXX sometimes read as Shechaniah) is thus upheld; cp. also the Hebrew Shebna and the names שבני, שבניו (below). Professor Nöldeke has, with some hesitation, suggested the interpretation "Yah has brought me back," but one would expect הֲשִׁיבַנְיָה.

Shemaiah, and Jeremiah. Three are new:—עמדיהו, זמריהו, and יחמליהו. זמריהו, of which Zimri may be an abbreviated form, possibly means "My protection is Yah." The second name appears to represent עִמָּדִיהוּ, "Yah with me"; if ר is read for ד, Omriyahu would be a fuller form of Omri. יחמליהו is an extremely interesting addition to Hebrew onomatology; the meaning is clearly "Yah will (*or* Let Yah) have compassion."

In every case the ending is written fully (יהו), but sporadic examples of יה occur once each in the case of חנניה, עזריה and שבניה.[4] In the Jewish names on the Egyptian-Aramaic papyrus the shorter ending is regular; in the Old Testament, יהו– alone is used in Remaliah, יה in Nehemiah, Neriah, Asaiah, Zephaniah, whilst in the rest both forms occur.

As regards the *familiar* names, it is important to observe that they are distributed among no fewer than one hundred and twenty-one individuals mentioned in the late writings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, seventeen in Jeremiah, six in 2 Kings, five in 1 Kings, one each in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Obadiah, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, two in Samuel, and one doubtful case in Judges.[5] Neriah and Remaliah are the only names that do not appear in the later writings, whilst Nehemiah and Shebaniah are not found outside them. Of the *new* names it is to be noticed that the formation יחמליהו (imperf. + יהו) is comparatively rare, and occurs chiefly in and after the VIIth century.[6]

The question now arises respecting the position of names in יו–. The examples are עשיו בו יוקם, אביו עבד עזיו, שבניו עבד עזיו, and קניו. There is a doubtful פטיו in Egyptian-Aramaic, an Aramæan graffito (also from Egypt) bears the name עזריו; there are nine examples in Nabatæan and no fewer than twenty-six in the Sinaitic graffiti. But it must be held doubtful whether the ending יו– has the same origin in every case. Omitting פטיו, all the examples quoted above might very well be compounds of י[ה]ו and this is possibly the case with אחיו (*P.S.B.A.*, 1903, p. 262), and Ahio (1 Chron. viii, 21, etc.). On the other hand, most of the examples from the Nabatæan (כפיו, עדיו, שדקיו (?), אפתיו, etc.),

[4] סריה is excluded, as being probably of Aramaic origin.

[5] For fuller details reference may be made to the tables in Gray's *Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 286–300; or to the relative articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

[6] Gray, p. 216; cp. the similarly formed compounds of אל below.

or the Sinaitic (בתיו, אלנפיו, עציו, שגדיו, etc.), scarcely come under this head, and only חלקיו (Nab.) and שלמיו (Sin.) appear to be possible compounds of the divine name (cp. Hilkiah, Shelemiah).

We have next to notice the names where יַהוּ precedes. יהושע (Joshua) is too well-known to need remark, and יהועזר is only a fuller form of Joezer (1 Chr. xii, 6). יהואל is unfortunately uncertain, and the alternative (and preferable) reading is יהוכל, with which cp. Jehucal and Jucal, which are not necessarily compounds of יהו. Finally יוקם (cp. doubtfully Jokim, 1 Chr. iv, 22) is possibly an abbreviation of Jehoiakim.

The very small number of names *commencing* with י[ה]ו is noteworthy, and from a comparison with Gray's conclusions (*Heb. Prop. Names*, pp. 158), it would seem that the ratio of such names to names *beginning* with י[ה]ו is approximately equivalent to that in Biblical personal names from the VIIth century to the Exile. The actual usage of the *familiar* names in the Old Testament significantly points to the latter date.

Compounds of *El* are not so numerous. The divine name precedes in the familiar Elḥanan,* Elisha (אלשע), Elishama (אלשמע), Eliam (אליעם), in the new אלרם (El-ram), אלאמץ* (El-ammîṣ ?), אלשגב, and apparently in אלאב[עבד]. It concludes in the familiar Ishmael, and in the new יזנאל, ישעאל, עשנאל and נעמאל. The full form אלי in אליעם is noteworthy (the י is doubtful). אלאמץ "El is strong or mighty" is parallel to Amaziah, cp. the shortened form Amoṣ (below). אלשגב perhaps "El strengthens (*or* lifts up)"; cp. Segub (1 Kings, xvi, 34), and שגבי the father of עזריו, mentioned above. In יזנאל, "El hears," we may see a name parallel to Azaniah, Jaazaniah (cp. יַזַנְיָהוּ, Jer. xl, 8); and עשנאל suggests "El strengthens,"[7] or perhaps better, "El made me." ישעאל ("help of El" *or* "El helps") is parallel to ישעיהו (Isaiah, Jeshaiah). Finally, נעמאל, compounded with נעם, is not necessarily Phœnician; cp. Elnaam (1 Chr. xi, 46), Ahinoam, Abinoam.

[7] So Nöldeke, *Ency. Bib.*, "Names," § 29, who regards it as Phœnician.

(*To be continued.*)

ANIMAL WORSHIP IN EGYPT.

BY PROF. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *D.C.L., F.R.S.*

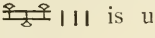
The plural form of the names of some of the animal gods does not seem to have been sufficiently noticed. It has so much bearing upon the nature of the worship that it is well to put the examples together.

HERU is thus written with three hawks, on the ivory tablet of Semempses, Ist dynasty, which I found at Abydos.

KHNUMU is thus written with three rams, on the stele of Unas, Vth dynasty, which I found at Elephantine.

KAU appears to be the oldest form of name in the bull worship, as the king who introduced it is named Ka-kau, from the *Ka* (soul) of the *kau* (bulls), in the second dynasty.

BAU is always the form for the "spirits" of Heliopolis, as it is usually translated; represented by the plural of the bird *ba*, which was probably sacred there.

UPUATU  is usually rendered as "the opener of ways"; but in view of these other plurals it may well be the plural of the jackal animal, who "opened the way" for the dead into the western desert.

ANPU the jackal, RERTU the hippopotamus, UNNU the hare, MENTU the hawk, and BENNU the phoenix, though not actually written with the unmistakeable plural sign, yet have the plural termination in U.

What then is the obvious conclusion of this? That the animals were sacred in the plural as a whole species, and not only in the person of one worshipped individual. This is what we see in other countries; all kine are sacred to the Hindu, all bears or all beavers are sacred to clans whose totem is the bear or beaver. And the accounts of the late phase of animal worship preserved by classical writers show that the whole of a species were equally respected.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1904.

Fourth Meeting, May 11th, 1904.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

OBITUARY.

March, 1904.—MAJOR-GEN. J. R. FORLONG.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From F. Legge.—"Urkunden des Alten Reichs." By Prof. G. Steindorf.

" "Beiträge zur Ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens." By Prof. Kurt Sethe.

" "The Decrees of Memphis and Canopus." By E. A. Wallis Budge, *Litt.D.*, *&c.* 3 vols.

From the Author, Prof. Dr. Sachau.—"Das Berliner fragment des Mûsâ Ibn 'Ukba."

From the Author, Prof. J. Krall.—"Demotische Lesestücke," Parts I & II.

From the Author, Prof. Dr. E. Revillout.—"L'Évangile des XII Apôtres, recemment découvert."

From H.M. India Office.—"Sacred Books of the East." Vol. XLVIII.

The following Candidate was elected a Member of the Society :—

Capt. Charles Boswell Wylie Norman, Hotel Bristol, Constantinople.

The following Paper was read :—

E. J. PILCHER : "The Origin of the Alphabet."

A discussion followed, in which Prof. Petrie, Mr. Hall, Dr. Pinches, Rev. Dr. Löwy, Mr. Rouse, Dr. Gaster, and the Chairman took part. Thanks were returned to Mr. Pilcher for his communication.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L., &c.*

(*Continued from page* 89.)

CHAPTER CLXXX.

Chapter of coming forth by day, of giving praise to Rā in the Amenta, of paying homage to the inhabitants of the Tuat, of opening the way to the mighty soul in the Netherworld, of letting him walk, lengthen his strides, and go in and out in the Netherworld; and take the form of a living soul.

Rā sets as Osiris with all the splendour of the Glorified and of the gods of the Amenta; for he is the one, the marvellous in the Tuat, the exalted soul in the Netherworld, Unneferu who exists for ever and eternally.

Hail to thee in the Tuat, thy son Horus rests in thee, thou speakest thy words to him; grant him that he may be resplendent before the inhabitants of the Tuat, that he may be the great star; that he may bring what is his to the Tuat and may travel in it, he, the son of Rā proceeding from Tmu.

Hail to thee in the Tuat, god seated upon his throne, who holdest thy sceptre *hik*, king of the Tuat and lord of Acherta, great prince wearing the double diadem, great god who hides his dwelling, lord of wisdom, chief of his circle of gods.

Hail to thee in the Tuat, praises also to what is in thee; (1) hail to thee in the Tuat, the weeping gods cut their hair in thy honour, they clap their hands, they implore thee, they pray thee, they weep before thee. Thy soul rejoices and thy body is glorious.

It is exalted, the soul of Rā in the Amenta, his body is blessed there; the powers praise him in the bounds of the Tuat, Teb Temt (2) who rests in his covering.

Hail, Osiris, I am the servant of thy temple, the inhabitant of thy divine dwelling, thou speakest to me thy words; give me to shine before the inhabitants of the Tuat like the great star who brings what is his to the Tuat, who journeys in it, he the son of Rā, proceeding from Tmu.

I rest in the Tuat, I am the master of the dusk, I enter in there and I come out. The arms of Tatunen receive me, the blessed lift me up. Stretch your arms towards me, for I know your gates, (?) guide me. Praise me, ye blessed ones, praise me, rejoice in me as in Rā, praise me like Osiris, for I have placed before you your offerings and you take possession of your victuals, according to the orders Rā gave me.

I am his favourite, I am his heir upon the earth. I have arrived.

Ye blessed ones grant that I may enter the Tuat, open me the entrance to the good Amenta. I have presented the sceptre to *sahu*, and the *nemmes* (3) to him whose name is hidden.

Look at me, ye blessed ones, divine guides in the Tuat; grant that I may receive thy glory, that I may shine like the god of mysteries; deliver me from the gods of the pillory, who fasten to their posts; do not bind me to your posts, do never send me to the place of destruction. I am the heir of Osiris, I receive the *nemmes* in the Tuat.

Look at me, I shine like one who proceeds from you, I become like him who (praises) his father, and who extols him.

Look at me, rejoice in me, grant that I may be exalted, that I may become like him who destroys his forms; open the way to my soul, set me on your pedestals; grant that I may rest in the good Amenta, show me my dwelling in the midst of you, open for me your ways, unfasten the bolts.

O Rā, who guides this earth, for thou art guiding the powers and following the course of the gods; I am the guardian of his door who tows the navigating gods.

I am the only one, the guardian of his door, he who puts the gods in their abodes.

I am on my pedestal in the Tuat. I am the possessor among possessors; I am at the far end of the Tuat.

I am the blessed one in the Acherta, and I make my resting place in the Amenta, among the powers and among the gods.

I am the favourite of Rā; I am the mysterious Bennu who enters in peace in the Tuat and goes out of Nut in peace.

I am the lord of the thrones (4) above, traversing the horizon in the train of Rā; the offerings for me are in the sky in the field of Rā, and my portion on earth in the garden of Aarru; I journey in the Tuat like Rā; I weigh the words like Thoth, I march as I will,

I hasten in my course like Sahu the mysterious one, and I am born as the two gods.

I am the chief of the bearers of offerings to the gods of the Tuat, who gives offerings to the Glorified. I am the brave one who strikes his enemies.

O ye gods, O ye Glorified who precede Rā, and who escort his soul, tow me as you tow him, in the same way as you conduct Rā and tow those in the sky. I am the lofty power in the Amenta.

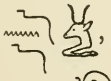
NOTES.

The papyri give us four versions of this Chapter. Two of them are in London 9900 *Aa*, but as they are both copied from the wrong side, they are of little use. Each of them had its own title; one was, "the worshipping of Rā in the good Amenta, the praising of the inhabitants of the Tuat," and the other, "chapter of towing (the gods)"; the two other copies are, one in a papyrus in Paris and the other at Leyden.

This Chapter does not properly belong to the Book of the Dead. It is part of a book engraved at the entrance of nearly all the tombs of the kings, the so-called "Litany of the Sun." This chapter is taken from the end of the book. The various paragraphs are not always in the same order as in the monumental text. There are abridgments and many omissions, which in the translation have been filled up from the text in the tombs.

The papyrus of Leyden (*La*) has a vignette representing the deceased worshipping two gods.

1. Words taken from the text in the tombs of the kings.

2. The texts in the tomb mention here the god *Temt*, who occurs there frequently, and who is quite unknown in the Book of the Dead. This god is often spoken of as being in a , a kind of oval case. The text here reads  , which has no meaning.

3. The head-dress worn by the sphinxes.

4. The tombs read here

CHAPTER CLXXXI.

Chapter of arriving before the Divine circle of Osiris and before the gods, the guides in the Tuat, before the guards of their halls, (1) *the heralds of their gates and the doorkeepers of their pylons in the Amenta, and of taking the form of a living soul and praising Osiris the lord of his circle of gods.*

Hail to thee, Chenta Amenta, Unneferu, lord of Tatsert; thou art shining like Rā. He himself comes to see thee and he rejoices in seeing thy beauties. His disk is thy disk, his rays are thy rays, his diadem is thy diadem, his height is thy height, his splendour is thy splendour, his beauties are thy beauties, his might is thy might, his odour is thy odour. His width is thy width, his abode is thy abode, his throne is thy throne, his descendence is thy descendence, his judgment is thy judgment, his Ament is thy Ament; his wealth is thy wealth, his duration is thy duration, his creations are thy creations; such as he is such art thou, (2) such as thou art such is he.

He shall not die, thou wilt not die; if he will not triumph over his enemies, thou wilt not triumph over his enemies; no evil things will happen to him, no evil things will happen to thee for ever and ever.

Hail, Osiris, son of Nut, lord of horns, wearing the high *atef* crown, to whom the *urer* diadem and the *hik* sceptre has been given in the presence of the cycle of the gods. Tum has raised the fear of his might in the hearts of mankind, of the gods, the Glorified and the dead; the royal power has been given him in Heliopolis; he is the great forms in Tattu, the lord of fear in his two abodes, the very brave one in Restau, he whose memory is pleasant in the palace, the very brilliant in Abydos. It has been given him to triumph before the whole cycle of the gods; he is mighty more than the great powers; the fear of him is over the whole earth.

The (3) great ones stand on their shrines before him, the prince of the gods of the Tuat, the great power of the sky, the lord of the living, and the king of those who are therein. Thousands glorify him in Cherāba, the future ones rejoice in him. He receives the choicest meat offerings in the upper abodes; haunches are presented

to him in Memphis, the festival of the Eve's provender is celebrated to him in Sechem, he is the great, the mighty one.

Thy son Horus avenges thee, he destroys all that is wrong in thee; he has fastened to thee thy flesh, he has set thy limbs and joined thy bones; he has brought thee . . . . (4) Arise, Osiris, thy hands have been given thee, stand up living for ever.

Seb made a mark (5) on thy mouth; the great cycle of the gods protect thee . . . . They come with thee towards the entrance of the hall of the Tuat. Thy mother Nut stretches her hand behind thee, she protects thee, she doubles her care for thee (4) . . . . . of the children. The two sisters Isis and Nephthys come to thee; they fill thee with life health and strength, and all the joy which they possess.

. . . . in thee, because of thee. They gather for thee all kind of good things within thy arms. The gods, the lords of the *ka*, come near thee; as they praise thee for ever.

Happy art thou, Osiris, thou shinest brilliantly, thou art powerful; thou art glorified. Thy attributes have been fixed to thee; thou art like Anubis. Rā rejoiceth in thee, he is bound to thy beauty.

Thou sittest on thy holy seat. Seb procures for thee what thou desirest to receive, it is on thy hands in the Amenta.

Thou navigatest through the sky every day, thou leadest him (Rā) to his mother Nut, where he sits living in the Amenta, in the boat of Rā, every day. Thou art with Horus in order that the protection of Rā may be behind thee; and the glorious power of Thoth may cling to thee and the health of Isis be within thy limbs.

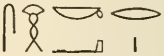
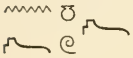
I have come to thee, lord of Ta-tsert, Osiris Chenta Amenta, Unneferu, who lasts eternally and for ever; my heart is right; my hands are pure; I have brought good things to my lord and offerings to him who made them. I have come from afar to your abodes. I have done a good thing on earth, I have struck for thee thy enemies like bulls, and I have slaughtered them like victims, I have made them to fall down on their faces before thee.

I am pure, thou art pure. I have purified thyself for thee, in thy festival, I have dressed geese for thee on thy altar, for thy soul, for thy Form and for the gods and goddesses who follow thee.

Whoever knows this book, no evil thing can have mastery over him; he is not driven away from the doors of the Tuat; when he goes in and out, he receives bread and beer and all good things before the inhabitants of the Tuat.

Notes.

This Chapter is found in two papyri: one at Leyden, and one at Naples. Its title begins like that of Chapter 124. The first paragraphs are translated from the papyrus at Leyden, which stops suddenly, because the space allotted to the text, below the vignette, came to an end. From there the scribe passes over to the rubric.

1. *See* note to Chapter 144.
2. *See* note 5, Chapter 144.
3. The following is taken from the papyrus at Naples.
4. Lacunæ.
5. This is part of the funereal ceremonies.  is to touch the mouth or make a mark on it with the instrument called  (Schiaparelli, *Libro dei Funerali*, Vol. I, p. 139).

CHAPTER CLXXXII.

Book of vivifying (1) *Osiris, of giving air to him whose heart is motionless, through the action of Thoth, who repels the enemies of Osiris who come there in his form* (2) . . . *as protector, saviour, defender in the Netherworld.*

It is said by Thoth himself, so that the morning light may shine on him (*Osiris*) *every day.*

I am Thoth, the perfect scribe, whose hands are pure, who opposes every evil deed, who writes justice and who execrates every wrong, he who is the writing reed of the Inviolate god, the lord of laws, whose words are written and whose words have dominion over the two earths.

I am the lord of justice, the witness of right before the gods; I direct the words so as to make the wronged victorious. I have dispelled darkness, and driven away the storm. I have given the sweet breaths of the North to Osiris when he comes out of the womb which bare him. I give Rā to be setting as Osiris and Osiris to be setting as Rā. I give him to enter the mysterious cave in order to

revive the heart of him whose heart is motionless, the exalted soul which is in the Amenta.

Hail, acclamations to thee, god whose heart is motionless, Unneferu, the son of Nut. I am Thoth, the favourite of Rā, the very brave, who is beneficent to his father; the great magician in the boat of millions (of years); the lord of laws, who pacifies the two earths by the power of his wisdom . . . who drives away enmity and dispels quarrels, who does what is pleasing to Rā in his shrine.

I am Thoth, who giveth Osiris victory over his enemies; I am Thoth, who prepares to-morrow and who foresees what will come afterwards; his action is not vain when he settles what is in the sky, the earth and the Tuat, and when he gives life to the future ones.

I give breath to the hidden ones by the virtue of my speech. Osiris is triumphant against his enemies.

I have come to the lord of Ta-tsert, Osiris the bull of the Amenta, who lasts for ever. I give an eternal protection to thy limbs; I have come bearing the amulet in my hand; my protection is active every day.

The living charm is behind him, behind this god, whose *ka* is glorious, the king of the Tuat, the prince of the Amenta, who takes hold of the sky, triumphantly, on whom the *atef* crown is established, who shines with the white diadem, who has seized the hook and the flail; mighty is his soul, the great one of the *urer* crown; who has united all the gods, the love of him penetrates their bodies, Unneferu who lasts for ever and eternally.

Hail to thee, Chenta Amenta, who giveth birth to all human beings a second time, who is renewed in an instant, who is better than those who were before. Thy son Horus establishes thee on the pedestal of Tmu; thy face is perfect, Unneferu.

Arise, bull of the Amenta, thou art established, well established in the womb of Nut; she replenishes thee (with life and health) when thou comest out of her. Thy heart is well established on its stands and thy whole heart as at the beginning. Thy nose is vivified with the breath of life; thou art living, renewed, made young like Rā every day, thou art great and triumphant, Osiris, who has been revived.

I am Thoth, I have calmed Horus, I have pacified the Rehiu in their moment of storm. I have come, I have washed away the Red ones; I have calmed down the riotous, and I have struck him with (?) all kinds of evil things.

I am Thoth, I have celebrated the festival of Eve's provender in Sechem. I am Thoth, I come every day from Pu Tepu, I have directed the offerings, I have given cakes to the glorious ones who stretched forth their hands. I have avenged the arm of Osiris, I have embalmed it. I have made sweet its fragrance like good perfumes.

I am Thoth, I come every day to Cherāba; I fastened the tackle; I let the boat go; I brought it from East to West. I am higher on my pedestal than any god, for my name is he who is high on his pedestal. I opened the good roads in my name of Apuatu, I give thee acclamations, and I throw myself down on the earth before Osiris Unneferu the eternal, the everlasting.

Notes.

Chapters 182 and 183 are hymns to Osiris very like each other, supposed to be pronounced by Thoth himself. Occasionally it is difficult to distinguish whether the words are spoken by the god or the deceased.

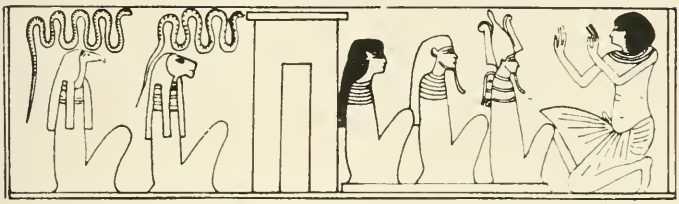
Chapter 182 is taken from Papyrus 10010 in London.

The vignette represents the mummy on the funeral bed, surrounded by several gods and genii.

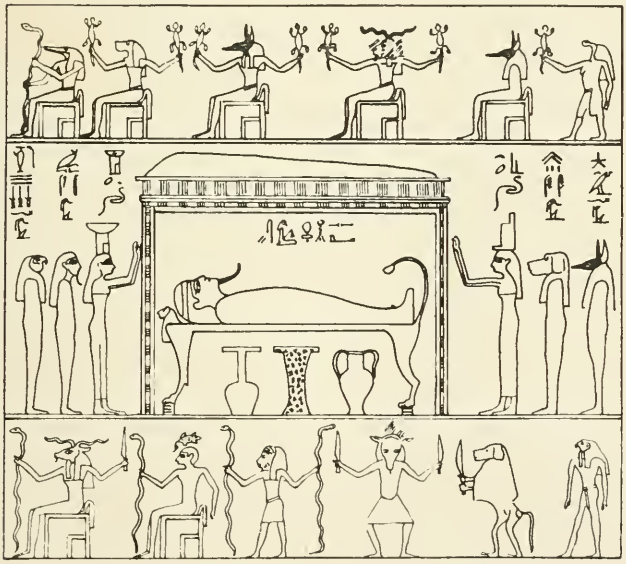
1. See note 2, Chapter 154.
2. A word is omitted there.

(*To be continued.*)

PLATE LX. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER CLXXXI, *L. a.*



CHAPTER CLXXXII, *A. t.*

THE KINGS OF ABYDOS.

BY F. LEGGE.

The discoveries of M. Amélineau[1] and Prof. Petrie[2] at Abydos, of M. de Morgan[3] at Negadah, and of Mr. Quibell[4] at Hieraconpolis, have given us a knowledge of the earliest historical or Thinite dynasties that to Egyptologists of the last generation would have seemed past hoping for. Thanks, however, to the ransacking that these find-spots suffered even in Pharaonic times, the identification of the monuments there discovered with any of the kings of the lists previously known to us is by no means easy. Hence, from the outset, it has proved a bone of contention to the learned, and while M. Amélineau at first asserted that he had uncovered the tombs of Osiris, Horus, and Set, M. Maspero was equally positive that his principal discoveries were not earlier than the IIIrd dynasty. Since then, the battle-ground has shifted; and Prof. Petrie[5] has claimed that he can identify with the Abydos monuments not only the whole of Manetho's and Seti I's Ist dynasty, but can also give the names of five kings who reigned before Menes. As against this, Dr. Sethe[6] —who was really the first to show the connection of any of the Abydos monuments with the Ist dynasty[7]—will have none of Prof. Petrie's pre-Menite kings, and rejects three out of eight of his Ist dynasty identifications. Finally comes Dr. Naville, who in a

[1] *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos. C.R. in extenso*, 1899; *Ibid.*, *Seconde Campagne*, 1902; and *Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, 1899. All published by Leroux, Paris.

[2] *Royal Tombs of the first dynasty* [*R.T.*, i], 1900; *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties* [*R.T.*, ii], 1901; *Abydos*, I, 1902 and *Abydos*, II, 1903. All published by the Egypt Exploration Fund, London.

[3] *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, tt. i and ii, 1896–1897. Leroux, Paris.

[4] *Hieraconpolis*, Part I, 1900; Part II, 1902. Quaritch, London.

[5] *Opp. cit. passim.*

[6] Die auf den Denkmälern der ältesten geschichtlichen Dynastieen vorkommenden Könige," in *Beiträge zur Ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, 1. Hälfte, 1903. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

[7] "Die ältesten geschichtlichen Denkmäler der Ägypter." *Ä.Z.*, xxxv [1897], pp. 1 *sqq.*

series of brilliant and closely-reasoned articles,[8] takes the theories of Prof. Petrie and Dr. Sethe very much to pieces, and would leave only two of their identifications in a valid condition. As this controversy has hitherto been conducted in three different languages, has extended over some years, and has been complicated by the introduction of irrelevant issues, it is thought that an impartial summary of the arguments may be of use to those still anxious to know how much these discoveries have really added to our knowledge of the earliest Egyptian history. I will therefore here take Prof. Petrie's list king by king, so far as his O or pre-Menite and his Ist dynasties are concerned, leaving the IInd and IIIrd dynasties to be dealt with in a future paper.

1. *Ka*.[9]

Prof. Petrie (*R.T.*, II, p. 5) at first thought that the chamber called by him B 7 (see *R.T.*, ii, Pl. LVIII) was the tomb of a king called Ka because it was full of cylinder jars bearing this name,[10] and that the extreme rudeness of these inscriptions points to his having existed before the king of Hieraconpolis whom he calls Narmer, and whom he considers, as will be seen later, to have reigned before Menes, the only other relics of Ka being found in the chambers near to B 7, called B 11 and B 15.[11] Later (*Abydos*, i, p. 3) he says, on the strength of the groups and found by the side of the hawk-crowned rectangle containing the *Ka*-arms (see *Abydos*, i, Pl. I, II and III), that the king's personal or cartouche name was Ap, and that his wife's name was Ha. Dr. Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 32) says that the façade, which in the supposed king's *srekh* or cognizance here appears over instead of under the *ka*-arms, may

[8] "Les Plus Anciens Monuments Égyptiens, I, II and III." *Rec. de Trav. Années* xxi [1899], xxiv [1902], and xxv [1903].

[9] For the sake of clearness, I have used the hawk-names as transliterated by Prof. Petrie throughout.

[10] The name here given is indicated only by the sign written sometimes thus, sometimes upside down, and in one instance laid on its side.

[11] I do not know what inference is to be drawn from this, because the nearest chambers to that assigned to *Ka* are B 9 and B 10, where none of his inscriptions were found.

possibly be the hieroglyph ;[12] that the reversed *ka*-arms can hardly be read *Ka*, while they do form a Horus-name;[13] and that the sign in *Abydos*, i, Pl. I, 1 etc., is not, as Prof. Petrie would read it, the *suten* of the *suten bat* title, but means Upper Egypt, the [14] not being the name of a wife Ha, but meaning Lower Egypt; while , if it is a name at all, is a private, and not a royal, name. He also agrees with Dr. Naville (*L.P.A.M.*, ii, p. 113) in considering that the inscriptions given in *R.T.* ii as belonging to a supposed king Ka, refer to the "house of the ka" or temple of the dead. To which Dr. Naville adds (*L.P.A.M.*, iii, p. 205), that on the analogy of , which means "the king" [Pharaoh] and not the king "per āa," the hawk-crowned *srekh* containing the *ka*-arms means "the royal ka" and not "King Ka"; and that the sign repeated after the groups and shows that the inscriptions refer to the contents of the jars, and should be read "the water Ap of the North" and "the water Ha of the South," as to which he adopts Dr. Sethe's reading. He further thinks that this is borne out by the chamber B 7 being an insignificant one and containing nothing but fragments of water-jars, which points to its being used as a storehouse for the water used in the service of the *ka*.[15]

[12] In this case the hawk-crowned rectangle would not be a *srekh* at all, and would not be indicative of any royal title, the distinctive feature of the *srekh* being the façade.

[13] The idea that the reversed *ka* arms form a different name to the upright derives some weight from the seal 89 shown in *R.T.*, ii, Pl. XIII. So far from being rough like the ink-written or incised inscriptions on pottery, it is as neatly cut as possible. This sign reappears in company, once with a hawk, and again with a scorpion on a vase at Hieraconpolis; *vide Hieracon*, 1, Pl. xxxiv.

[14] not .

[15] This seems to ignore the seal 89 mentioned above. That the inscriptions on the jars are all by different and illiterate hands (Query those of the water carriers?) seems plain from the great variations and entire absence of convention in the form of the different signs.

2. *Ro.*

The name of this supposed king is taken by Prof. Petrie (*Abydos*, i, p. 4) from a seal (No. 96, *R.T.*, ii, Pl. XIII) which he at first overlooked. It shows a bird seated upon a sign which Prof. Petrie reads and which appears independently by the side of the group. Prof. Petrie would connect it with some "Marks on Pottery" (*R.T.*, i, Pl. XLIV) showing a very roughly-drawn hawk holding an object sometimes circular, sometimes triangular, but generally of indeterminate shape. From these last being found in the chamber B 1, he considers them to be near the time of Ka, while he thinks the presence of a great jar therein shows it to be later than the last-named king. To this, Dr. Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 30) answers that there is no ground for supposing the sign on the seal to be a Horus-name, as there is no sign of the façade used with the *srekh*, nor does the bird look like a hawk. If the group in question be the word *ur*, the is probably the phonetic complement of the .

3. *Zeser.*

Prof. Petrie depends for this name on an ivory fragment bearing the sign under two *neb* baskets (see *R.T.*, i, p. 6 and Pl. IV, No. 3). He says that he found it "re-used in the tomb of Den,"[16] and that it "may be before Mena," while, from its provenance, it cannot relate to Zeser of the IIIrd dynasty. In *R.T.*, ii, p. 5, he assigns the chamber B 9[17] to this supposed king. Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 31) says that this king *is* the one of the same name in the IIIrd dynasty called Tosorthros by Manetho, and that the appearance of his monuments in a Ist dynasty grave can be paralleled by another case among Prof. Petrie's sealings. The use of the *nebui* title instead of the *nebti* is, he says, nothing against this identification, as it can be shown to occur in an inscription of Unas at the end of the Vth dynasty. The cartouche is not here given to the name because it is not preceded by the *suten bat*. Finally, he thinks the style of the inscription shows it to be a good deal later than Menes. To this, Dr. Naville remarks (*L.P.A.M.*, II, p. 113, and iii, p. 220) that the group has, in his opinion, nothing to

[16] In the plate no signs of re-use are to be detected.

[17] The twin tomb of B 7, which he has previously assigned to Ka.

do with any name royal or otherwise, but that the is a sign of the dual, the being some liquid of which the tablet records the offering of two vases.[18]

4. *Narmer.*

This king, whose great carved slate and mace-heads were found by Mr. Quibell at Hieraconpolis, is said by Prof. Petrie (*R.T.*, i, p. 5) to have reigned before Den, because an "erased" vase of his was found in Den's tomb.[19] Also, that his monuments are like Aha's, the hawk of the *srekh* being especially alike in the two cases.[20] He further points out that the top of the *srekh* rectangle is curved under both kings, the curve being deeper with Narmer than with Aha[21]: and that Narmer must be before Zet, because a vase of his was found in the latter's tomb. He therefore thinks that Narmer must be either just before or just after Aha, and he elects to put him before. In *R.T.*, ii (p. 4), however, he moves Narmer one step further off, and makes him the last but one before Aha. To this, Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 33) replies that Prof. Petrie's real reason for turning Narmer out of the Ist dynasty is that he has no longer any room for him in it, having already filled it up with identifications of his own. He accepts the argument from style, but says that while the hawks of Aha and Narmer are much alike, those of Zer, who, according to Prof. Petrie, was Aha's immediate successor, are quite different, and that (apparently) the transition would be too abrupt were there not a long space of time between them. Into this gulf he would thrust Narmer, thus making him Aha's immediate successor. Dr. Naville, however, has gone much further and has from the first denied that the name of the Hieraconpolis king is Narmer at all. He first suggested (*L.P.A.M.*, i, p. 119) that the -sign, which in the great carved slate of Hieraconpolis is pushed down between the towers of the façade, seemed to be connected with the determinative in the cartouche name assigned by Seti I to Boethos the first king of the IInd dynasty, and he was confirmed

[18] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. XI, 25 &c., quoted in support.

[19] I have been unable to trace this in any of the plates.

[20] As to this see Plate, and note 47 on page 142, *inf.*

[21] But on seal 92 (*R.T.*, ii, Pl. XIII) the top line of the rectangle does not seem to be curved at all; nor on the alabaster vase figured in *R.T.*, i, Pl. IV, 2.

in this by the appearance of the seals 91 and 92 (*R.T.*, ii, Pl. XIII), which show the [hieroglyph] cast out of the *srekh* altogether and depicted below the rectangle of the cognizance. He therefore thinks (*L.P.A.M.*, ii, p. 114) that the name of the fish [hieroglyph] which appears on the *srekh* of the Hieraconpolis king is his hawk- and that indicated by the determinative [hieroglyph] his cartouche-name. As to this last, he has no doubt. Following M. Georges Foucart,[22] he believes its components to be [hieroglyph] + [hieroglyph] + [hieroglyph], to be pronounced *betchu* or *budju*, which is, in the opinion of both, the Boethos of Manetho and the [hieroglyph] of Seti I. On the hawk-name of this king he differs from M. Foucart and would read it [hieroglyph] *uha* on the strength of an inscription recorded by Mariette.[23] As he also accepts the similarity between the monuments of Aha and this king as proof of their nearness in point of time, it follows (*L.P.A.M.*, iii, p. 219) that for him Aha must be the second king of the IInd dynasty called by Manetho Kaiechos.

5. *Sma.*

In the placing of this king, Prof. Petrie seems to depend (*R.T.* ii, p. 4) first on the archaism shown by his using the *nebui* title alone,[24] instead of *srekh*, *nebti* or *suten bat*, and then on one of the objects which he assigns to one Neit-hotep, who was, according to him, the wife of Menes, and the person for whom was raised the magnificent monument discovered at Negadah. The ivory box which bears the name read as Neit-hotep displays also a sign which might be [hieroglyph], the lower part being mutilated (*R.T.*, ii, 11, 12). He therefore argues that, "as Sma cannot have been the husband or son of

[22] "Des deux Rois inconnus d'Hieraconpolis." *C.R. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1901, t. i, pp. 241 *sqq.* This agrees with M. Amélineau's promise (*N.F. d'A.*, ii, p. 309) of a new "table of Abydos," on which the name of Narmer does not appear.

[23] *Mastabas*, p. 346.

[24] But see Dr. Sethe, *Beiträge*, p. 31, that the *nebui* title, so far from being peculiarly archaic, continued in use till the end of the Vth Dynasty.

Neit-hotep, he was probably her father," and "the immediate predecessor of Mena." To this, Dr. Sethe (*Beiträge*, p. 32) says that the group in question is plainly a variant of the queen's title common in later times, namely, , *samuti nebti*, "she who is united to the king."[25] Dr. Naville, on the other hand (*L.P.A.M.*, ii, p. 113), would read the sign which Prof. Petrie makes as , which, he says, is not here the adjective *nefer*, but some measure of quantity or fraction of a *hin*, being probably a dual sign. Later (*L.P.A.M.*, iii, pp. 209, *sq.*) he reiterates this, and insists that the upper end of the sign read never ends in the Abydos inscriptions in anything but a sharp point, the spreading out of the top of the sign being, according to him, the touchstone of difference between this and the sign .

6. *Aha.*

The five kings just treated of all owe the places assigned to them in the series to their position relative to Aha. As will presently be seen, this is also the case with most of those who follow. As to Aha's own place, Prof. Petrie (*R.T.*, i, p. 5) places him very early in the dynasty because of the rudeness of his inscriptions and their likeness to those of the so-called Narmer, whom he supposes to have reigned before Zet and Den.[26] He therefore accepts the identification of Aha with Menes already come to by Dr. Borchardt on the faith of the broken tablet of Negadah, especially, as he declares, "now that it is shown to be usual for the king's name to be simply written below the vulture and uraeus group."[27] Later (*R.T.*, ii, p. 7) he tells us that from the position of the tombs, the tomb of Mena must be looked for among the tombs marked B on the plan before quoted (*R.T.*, ii. Pl. LVIII), and he thinks he has discovered it in B 19, most of the objects bearing the name of Aha being found either in that chamber or in some of its neighbours. Dr. Sethe

[25] He claims the support of Mr. Griffith in this reading. *Cf. R.T.*, ii, p. 48: "Lady of the Double Dominion," Mr. Griffith apparently also considering to be a dual.

[26] I return to the question of style later. *Vide inf.*, p. 142.

[27] Evidently referring to the doubtful case of Qa; *vide inf.*, p. 138. But even if this be admitted, "une fois n'est pas coutume."

(*Beiträge, &c.*, p. 23) also declares that the equation Aha = Menes is made certain (*gesichert*) by the juxtaposition of the two names on the Negadah Tablet, and sees no grammatical difficulties in the omission of the usual final letter or .[28] He also speaks of its appearance with the *nebti* title alone as being "in accordance with the custom of the age," and thinks that the archaism of Aha's monument, especially in the form of his hawk, would lead to his being placed, even without the evidence of the tablet, before Den and his successors. Dr. Naville, on the other hand, writing before Dr. Sethe (*L.P.A.M.*, pp. 109, *sqq.*), while admitting that the sign found under the *nebti* in the Negadah Tablet is , says that up to Usertesen II[29] the *nebti* name was always the same as the hawk-, or *srekh* name, and that it cannot here be taken as the name of the king. He finds its explanation in the pavilion or which surmounts the and reads the whole group as *mennebti*, "the king's pavilion of repose," wherein the deceased king was supposed to take his rest in playing draughts, as he shows by quotations from the Papyrus Prisse, the Coffin of Am-ten and other texts. Finally, by reference to the Palermo Stone, he explains the whole of the Negadah tablet as showing, "above, the date, the name of the king Aha, and that of the pavilion which he is entering; below, on the right, the much mutilated representation of the hall and the king advancing towards it; on the left, all the offerings which are brought to the king at this festival and the sacrifices offered by the priests who are attached to it."

7. *Zer.*

With this king again, Prof. Petrie (*R.T.*, i, p. 4) depended for his identification in the first instance upon position, the chamber which he assigns to him, and which M. Amélineau took for the tomb of

[28] M. Maspero, *Hist. Anc. des Peuples de l'Orient* (Hachette, 1904), p. 57, thinks the identification of the name of Menes on the Negadah tablet probable.

[29] This was noted by Dr. Sethe himself (*Ä.Z.*, xxx, 53, n. 4). Brugsch (*A.Z.*, xxviii, 1, 10) gives the example of Djeser or Zeser of the IIIrd Dynasty, whose hawk and *nebti*-name was *neter-khet.*

Osiris, lying to the northward of that assigned to Aha. Later (*R.T.*, ii, pp. 3 and 4), on more monuments of Zer becoming uncovered, he becomes more positive, and on the strength of seal 109 (*R.T.*, ii, Pl. XV), he pronounces the king's cartouche-name to have been Ta, which, according to him, corresponds to the Teta of Seti I, and the Atothis of Manetho. The seal in question shows the hawk-crowned *srekh* containing, above the usual façade, a sign which, following Mr. Quibell, Prof. Petrie reads . This is repeated four times on the seal, the *srekh* in two instances having above it and in two below it the groups and respectively, and in all four cases has by its side the jackal standard of Anubis. To this Dr. Sethe (*Beiträge*, p. 27 *sq.*) replies that the evidence from style seems to him satisfactory, and that he can even distinguish in the shape of Zer's hawk a transition from the ruder style of Aha to the more finished one of Den and his immediate predecessors. But he, following Mr. Griffith,[30] thinks that the group seen on the seal may not be the king's name, but the name of the owner of the seal, or, if otherwise, should be read backward as . On these grounds he would identify this Zer not with Teta-Atothis, but with Ateth or Kenkenes, the third king of Manetho's Ist dynasty. Dr. Naville (*L.P.A.M.*, iii, p. 211), however, objects altogether to Mr. Quibell's and Prof. Petrie's reading of the sign as either or , and will have it to be ,[31] which he defines as "une sorte de pavillon ou daïs reposant sur trois ou quatre colonnes, et sur les côtés duquel pend ce qui paraît être des étoffes."[32] As this appears frequently in the Pyramid texts, where it is to be read , and under the form *Schesti* is used as an epithet of Horus, Dr. Naville considers it has the same significance here. Hence he is doubtful whether it is in this place intended for a royal name.

[30] *R.T.*, ii, pp. 51, 52.

[31] It should be noticed, however, that the seal No. 77 to which he refers is not Zer's, but Mersekha's, and that the signs are not therefore necessarily the same.

[32] Dr. Budge, *History of Egypt*, i, p. 181, like M. Amélineau, reads it *Khent*.

8. *Zet.*

This, the "serpent" king of M. Amélineau, Prof. Petrie (*R.T.*, i, p. 5) considers to have reigned after the king he calls Zer, from the position of the chamber he assigns to him as his tomb, which lies considerably to the north-west of Zer's burial place. On a seal (*R.T.*, i, Pl. XVIII, No. 2) found hard by, there are also to be found the signs placed alternately below and above the *srekh* containing the sign, and this Prof. Petrie (*R.T.*, ii, p. 3) claims as proof that the serpent king is the Ateth of Seti's list and the Kenkenes of Manetho. Sethe (*Beiträge*, p. 29) considers that the signs form, as before, not the king's name, but that of the holder of the seal. He thinks this reign is linked with that of the king whom we have called Zet by the outspread fingers[33] of the hand in signs like , , and , and by the fact that duplicates of one seal appear in both tombs, as do two groups of signs which he takes to be names of royal officers.[34] To this Dr. Naville (*L.P.A.M.*, iii, p. 207) replies that, if the signs appearing above and below the *srekh* are to be considered as denoting the king's cartouche-name, that of Narmer of Hieraconpolis must certainly be Men, since the draughtboard appears in those positions in relation to the *srekh* of that king on seal 93 (*R.T.*, ii, Pl. XIII). He further thinks that the of the king's name has an ideographic value and is the name of the serpent of Chap. CXLIX of the Book of the Dead, viz., *Nau.* As to the , he thinks it may be, as Mr. Griffith (*R.T.*, i, p. 43) suggests, a title meaning "reigning sovereign," or the name of a hall.

9. *Merneit.*

Of this supposed king, whose relics were entirely passed over by M. Amélineau, Prof. Petrie (*R.T.*, i, p. 19) says that some erased

[33] If this is an archaism, it must have continued into the time of Usaphais. *Cf.* seal 26. (*R.T.*, i, Pl. XXI.)

[34] The instances which he here quotes are all on Pl. XIX of *R.T.*, i. It should be noticed that there is nothing to connect them with Zet, and that No. 10 is a collection of numerals which might appear under any king without alteration. As to the argument from provenance, see *inf*, p. 140.

inscriptions were found in the tomb of Mersekha.[35] From the fact that all the seals in the tomb of Merneit bear Den's name, he suggests that the hawk-name of Merneit was also Den. Dr. Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 29) says that he agrees with Dr. Borchardt and Dr. Naville that Merneit is not masculine but feminine, and from the comparative magnificence of her tomb, and the finding therein of seals bearing the names of an official and of a vineyard of Den, he suggests that she was his queen, and probably the mother of Miebis (see *R.T.*, i, Pls. XXI and XXV; *R.T.*, ii, Pl. XIX, etc.). Dr. Naville, however (*L.P.A.M.*, ii, pp. 116 *sq.*), thinks Merneit not the name of a person but of a thing, and says that the group which composes the first syllable implies a magazine of some kind. Hence he suggests that the whole name means, perhaps, a table of offerings to the goddess Neith.[36]

10. *Den.*

With this king we at last touch ground common to all who have endeavoured to identify the Abydos discoveries with the lists of Seti I and of Manetho. Dr. Sethe in 1897 (*Ä.Z.*, xxxv, p. 3) showed that the king whose *srekh* as discovered by M. Amélineau at Abydos bore the sign *Den*, and who is shown on a tablet in Mr. MacGregor's collection as beating an Asiatic captive, is the same as the fifth king of the Ist dynasty in the Seti and Manetho lists, and there called *Hesepti* and Usaphais. This is confirmed by the tablet (*R.T.*, i, Pl. XI, 14) discovered by Prof. Petrie, and since it is shown that the variant reading here given of for arises from the resemblance of the signs and in hieratic, this identification may now be accepted, and we may dismiss Max Müller's contention that the name , as it appears in some of the Pharaonic king-lists, covers the Manethonian name of Ken-

[35] The pieces of vases referred to (*R.T.*, iv, 5) show only rough cross scratches, which Prof. Petrie apparently takes for the arrows of Neith. In the Plates no sign of intentional erasure is to be seen.

[36] In support of this he quotes the Palermo Stone. But the discovery of the great stele by Prof. Petrie, which appears as frontispiece to *R.T.*, i, seems decisive against this view.

kenes.[37] Dr. Naville, who at first disputed this identification (*L.P.A.M.*, i, p. 122), now agrees with it (*L.P.A.M.*, iii, p. 215), and we may therefore consider it as accepted on all sides.

11. *Azab.*

Of the identity of this king there is also, fortunately, no longer any question. In 1897 (*op. cit.*) Dr. Sethe showed that the group , appearing on several vase inscriptions discovered by M. Amélineau under the *suten bat* title , was unmistakably the of Seti's list and the Miebis of Manetho. The identity of this king with the owner of the *srekh* containing the group *Azab*, became evident upon Prof. Petrie's publication of the seal 57 in *R.T.*, i, Pl. XXVI, which shows the *suten bat* name by the side of the *srekh* in question. Another inscription (*R.T.*, i, Pl. V, 12) which bears the *suten bat* names of both Miebis and Den side by side slightly complicates the matter, but this is now seen to be due to a usurpation by Miebis of one of Hesepti's vases. Dr. Naville, who at first differed from Dr. Sethe as to the reading of the sign □ (*L.P.A.M.*, ii, p. 118), now agrees with him. and accepts without qualification the identity of Manetho's Miebis as the immediate successor of Usaphais and the owner of the *srekh* name , which he reads *ad* or *ant arp*.

12. *Mersekha.*

This king, whose *srekh* contains the signs Mersekha, or according to Mr. Griffith (*R.T.*, i, p. 39) and Dr. Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 24), Semerkhet, "beloved by the bowels,"[38] has perhaps given

[37] Reading it Qenqen (*cf.* Mr. Griffith in *R.T.*, ii, p. 49).

[38] This reading is confirmed by the king's inscription on the rock at Sinai, where the signs are written . See Raymond Weill, "Inscriptions égyptiennes de Sinai," *Rev. Arch.*, 1903, ii, pp. 230–231.

more trouble than all the rest of the dynasty. On the strength of seal 72 (*R.T.*, i, Pl. XXVIII), which shows beside the *srekh* containing this group, in the regular building enclosure , and under the *nebti* title, a figure grasping a stick, Prof. Petrie (*R.T.*, i. p. 5) claims him as Semempses, the seventh king of Manetho, who appears in the list of Seti as , a bearded figure in a garment reaching to his feet, with hands grasping the -sceptre. This, which was read by Prof. Lieblein as Semenptah, is thought by Prof. Petrie to cover the word *shemsu* or follower of Ptah, which implies, as Mr. Griffith (*R.T.*, i, p. 42) suggests, that the figure in the list of Seti was mistaken by the scribes for .[39] Mr. H. R. Hall, however (*Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p. 45), with the approval of Dr. Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i, p. 202), says that this sign should be , which they both read *Hu* or *Nekht*. The figure certainly appears on vases (*R.T.*, i, Pl. VI, 9 and 11) from which the name of Miebis appears to have been erased, and a similar erasure appears to have been intended on the Amélineau fragment given by Dr. Sethe in *Ä.Z.*, xxxv, and before referred to, where the figure is shown by the side of Hesepti's *suten bat* name. From this, Dr. Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 24) constructs the theory that Semempses fought for the throne with Miebis, and, succeeding, cut out Miebis's name from his inscriptions so as to make himself appear the immediate successor of Usaphais. Dr. Naville, while admitting (*L.P.A.M.*, ii, p. 115) that the figure denotes a royal name, denies that this is Semempses and compares it with the *Huni* of the Saqqarah list, who is apparently Cherpheres, the last king of Manetho's IIIrd dynasty. His chief objection, in which he persists (*L.P.A.M.*, iii, p. 217), is that the figure is not a *suten bat* or

[39] Even then I do not see how Prof. Petrie gets the connection with Ptah, which is, according to him, the important part of the name.

cartouche-name but entirely a *nebti* and *srekh* name.[40] He would also read the name here called Mersekha as Kheskhet, and would make him not earlier than the IInd dynasty.

13. *Qa.*

This king, for the discovery of whose chief monuments, as of those of the kings called above Zet, Den, and Azab, we are indebted to M. Amélineau, is claimed by Prof. Petrie (*R.T.*, i, p. 5) as the last of the dynasty from the position of his tomb. An ivory tablet there found (*R.T.*, i, Pl. XII, 2) shows by the side of the *srekh* containing the group *Qa*, another group under the *nebti*. Prof. Petrie explains this (*R.T.*, i, p. 23) by supposing that a *sen* sign with a very tall base was mistaken by a later scribe for the vase *Kebh* and the below it for the determinative of water, thereby leading to the cartouche-name given in Seti's list as , *Qebh*.[41] He also claims (*id.*, p. 26) that this king erased his predecessor Mersekha's name from a seal, but I cannot find this seal anywhere figured in the two volumes of *Royal Tombs*.[42] Dr. Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 25) approves of the identification of Qa with the Qebh of Seti and the Bieneches of Manetho. He also contends that this king was the rightful heir to Miebis and restored after the reign of the usurping Semempses, and finds confirmation of this in the fact that the name of an official named *Henka* is said to be

[40] This argument appears to ignore the ivory tablet, *R.T.*, i, Pl. XII, 1, in which the figure in question appears plainly under both *suten bat* and *nebti*. There is, however, nothing but the doubtful presumption of provenance to connect this tablet with Mersekha.

[41] This ignores the fact that the name is given in Manetho's list as Bieneches, which name remains unexplained, nor does it show how the sign in the tablet came to be written for *sen*.

[42] Dr. Sethe, who sees in this supposed erasure an act of political revenge, gives in his footnote only the reference "*R.T.*, i, text S 26, 77." Seal 77 is an unusually perfect and complete seal of Mersekha. P. 26 of the text contains Prof. Petrie's statement with reference thereto, that "we have precisely the same seal in the tomb of Qa, excepting that the name of the king has been cut out, and there is therefore a mere lump in place of it on the impression."

found on ivories of both Semempses and Qa.[43] He thinks that the reading Qebh arose from the confusion of the sign with . To this Dr. Naville (*L.P.A.M.*, ii, p. 115) replies, that the supposed royal name *sen* cannot be admitted, as the *nebti* above it is turned towards and not away from the *srekh*, and is therefore plainly part of the name of a worshipper. This worshipper he holds to have been named *Sennebti*, and to have been the *suten mabti* or royal architect of the time, this group being found on both seals. The Qebh or Qebhu of Seti he would look for not here, but in the "Scorpion" king of Hieraconpolis, the group of rosette and scorpion which there denote his name being read by M. Foucart[44] as Qobhu or Qobuha, although Dr. Naville admits there are difficulties in the way of this reading.

If now we summarise the results of these criticisms, we shall see that Dr. Sethe and Dr. Naville are agreed in pronouncing neither Ka, nor Ro, nor Sma, nor Merneit to be kings, while Dr. Sethe would push down Narmer and Zeser from the O dynasty into the Ist and IIIrd respectively: Dr. Naville also holds Narmer to be the Boethos whom Manetho makes the 1st king of the IInd dynasty, and Zeser not to have been a king at all. Prof. Petrie's O dynasty therefore disappears altogether, if we accept the arguments of either of his critics. As to the Ist dynasty, the identity of Den with Seti's Hesepti (Usaphais of Manetho) and of Azab with Seti's Merbapen (Miebis of Manetho) are admitted by everybody. Of the remaining kings, Dr. Sethe accepts the equations Aha = Mena (Menes of Manetho), Mersekha = Semenptah (Semempses of

[43] The proof of this does not seem very strong. The ivory tablet bearing Henka's name, though found in the tomb of Qa (*R. T.*, i, pl. XI, 12), does not bear the *srekh* name of that king but a mutilated one of which only something that looks like the paddle sign is left. The same tablet also bears a *suten bat* with another mutilated name, which Prof. Petrie (*R. T.*, i, p. 23) and Mr. Griffith (*ibid.*, p. 43) agree is apparently *Ket*. The other tablet on which Dr. Sethe relies to prove the connection of Henka with King Semempses is *R. T.*, i, Pl. XII, 1, and as before mentioned, is only to be identified with Semempses by its containing the figure .

[44] *Art. cit.*, pp. 230 *sqq*. By reading the scorpion sign *ouha* or *bouha*, M. Foucart seems to get near the Οὐβιενθής, which appears in some extracts from Manetho as a variant of Bieneches.

Manetho) and Qa = Qebh (Bieneches of Manetho); while he contends that Narmer = Seti's Teta (Atothis of Manetho), Zer = Ateth (Kenkenes of Manetho) and Zet = Ata (Uenephes of Manetho), as will be seen more clearly from the following table :—

SETI I.	MANETHO.	PETRIE.		SETHE.	
		Srekh	*Suten bat*	*Srekh*	*Suten bat*
	Menes				
	Athothis				
	Kenkenes				
	Uenephes	I.			
	Usaphais	II.			
	Miebis				
	Semempses				
	Bieneches				

While of these, Dr. Naville will only allow that is Usaphais and is Miebis.

Looking now into the arguments by which Prof. Petrie supports his identifications, we find that it largely depends upon the exact provenance of the inscriptions, on which they in turn depend, being correctly given. Thus, at the very outset of his proofs (*R.T.*, i, p. 5), he tells us that "a vase of Narmer was found in the tomb of Zet,"

from which, as we have seen, he draws the inference that Narmer must have reigned before Zet. But if we go further, and ask for proof that the place in which the vase was found was actually the tomb of Zet, we find ourselves in much difficulty. Dr. Naville has, indeed, throughout contended that none of these chambers are tombs at all, because they contain no signs of skeletons, mummies, or other mortal remains, and insists instead that they are merely funerary chapels or offering places. Into this we need not here enter, because Prof. Petrie's argument would hold good if it could be shown that the spot on which he found Narmer's vase was an offering-place exclusively reserved for the worship of Zet after his death. But when we ask for the reason of his assigning this spot to Zet, we find that he does so from the finding in it of a very few inscriptions bearing the serpent *srekh*,[45] while at the same time it contains several others bearing names which are not that of Zet. Moreover the plan given by M. Amélineau (*N.F. d'A.*, i, p. 130) as that of the chamber where he found the magnificent stele of the "serpent king," differs so materially from that drawn by Prof. Petrie in *R.T.*, i, Pl. LXI as the tomb of Zet, that it is hard to believe that they refer to the same edifice. And if Prof. Petrie is not right in his assignment of particular tombs to particular kings, it may be noticed that the further argument that he would draw from their relative position falls entirely to the ground. What, for example, becomes of his contention as to "the gradual pushing back of the tomb sites," if the tomb with which he starts is not that of the king to whom he attributes it? But for proof that the presence of inscriptions in a chamber does not always mean that the chamber is the tomb of the king whose name they bear, one need not go further than Prof. Petrie's own volumes. On *R.T.*, i, p. 7, he tells us that part of a door-jamb of a chapel built by Apries in the XXVIth dynasty was found "thrown into the tomb of Merneit," and that fragments of the bier of Osiris placed in the tomb of King Zer during the XVIIIth dynasty were found, "one by [the tomb of] Azab and the other a furlong away to the south." On p. 19 of the same

[45] One is shown in *R.T.*, i, Pl. IV, fig. 4, which comes apparently not from the tomb of Zet but from one of the chambers near it, and four others in *R.T.*, ii, Pl. VII, figs. 1–4, of which one is illegible. As against these we have in *R.T.*, i, Pl. IV, from the same tomb, one of Narmer (fig. 2), one of Zeser (fig. 3), and one defaced but certainly not of Zet (fig. 5). The casting vote therefore remains with the illegible inscription.

volume, we hear of pieces of vases attributed to Merneit being "found scattered in the tomb of Mersekha." On *R.T.*, ii, p. 5, we read that "the objects of Mena" have doubtless been scattered in throwing the contents of "[the tomb Prof. Petrie attributes to him] "into tombs already opened." On p. 22 of the same volume the presence of an ivory bearing the supposed name of Merneit in the tomb of Zet is explained by the suggestion that "it may have strayed over from the tomb of that king" [*i.e.* Merneit], and the same remark is repeated with regard to "a piece of a stone bowl inscribed Merneit," on p. 23.[46] So thorough has been the mixing on these sites, that different fragments of the same object were even found in different tombs. On p. 21 of *R.T.*, ii, it is said of an "ebony tablet of Mena," that "the lower half was found in tomb B 18, and at the close of all the work the upper half came from B 19"; and in *Abydos*, i, p. 5 it is said of an "alabaster inscription of Azab" that it was not noticed until they arrived in England that "the pieces fitted together, as they were found scattered in three different tombs." Plainly, therefore, no great weight can be placed on the names attached to the different sites.

Again, with regard to all the kings whom he places before Usaphais, the fifth king of the dynasty, it will be seen that the identification of Aha with Menes is one of the pivots or hinges upon which Prof. Petrie's theory turns. Narmer—to take the instance already used—is said by both Prof. Petrie and Dr. Sethe to have used a hawk so exactly like Aha's that they must have reigned within a short time of each other. I am not convinced of the fact, for I believe the rudeness of execution in some of the hawks of both kings is due to nothing except the refractory nature of the material used.[47] But if it be admitted, it is evident that anything which

[46] I have chosen Merneit as an instance, because his, or rather, her tomb or chapel was apparently passed over by M. Amélineau, and should therefore have been less disturbed than the rest. Yet no single piece with the name of Merneit other than the great stele was found on this site.

[47] The hawk on the great carved slate of Hieraconpolis made by the king called Narmer, and shown on Plate, fig. 1, is a careful and lifelike piece of work, though not so true to nature as the magnificent peregrine falcon carved in limestone for "Zet," or the "serpent" king, and discovered by M. Amélineau. The excessive thickness of the neck is well preserved in the piece of alabaster, also of Narmer, found by Prof. Petrie (*R. T.*, i, Pl. IV, 2), and here called fig. 2. The parrot-like beak apparent in fig. 2 is indeed reproduced in the glazed bowl of Aha shown by Prof. Petrie in *Abydos*, ii, Pl. V, and here reproduced as fig. 3, although the

deprives Aha of his place at the head of the dynasty would leave us free to consider the Hieraconpolis king as of a much later age. So, if Prof. Petrie's reading of Ta as the *suten bat* name of Zer, and of Ath as that of Zet, be taken out of the way—and it has been shown to have commended itself to neither Dr. Sethe, Dr. Naville, nor Mr. Griffith—there is nothing to place Zer and Zet in the Ist dynasty other than the style of their hawks showing an apparent transition from the style of Aha to the style of Den. So, too, with the other kings of whom Prof. Petrie would compose his O or pre-Menite dynasty. Of Ka he tells us that the rudeness of his inscriptions points to his being before Narmer, whom, as we have seen, he dates by Aha. Of Ro (*Abydos*, i, p. 5), that "the style of his sealing is more like Narmer or Menes than Ka." Of Zeser (*R.T.*, i, p. 6), that there is "no proof but what Narmer may be before Menes as Zeser may be," and, later (*R.T.*, ii, p. 5), that "Zeser seems to have been a successor of Ka." Of Sma, that "we are led to place him as the immediate predecessor of Menes." And with regard to his argument from the relative position of the tombs, it is so necessary for him to have the tomb of Menes or Aha as a *datum*, that he is obliged to bring him from "the stately tomb worthy of Menes" at Negadah to the "altogether inconsiderable little grave" at Abydos, on grounds which Dr. Sethe has to confess are not satisfactory to him.[48] It was, therefore, to be expected that either Prof. Petrie or Dr. Sethe would have made some effort to cast doubt upon Dr. Naville's reading of the supposed cartouche-name of Aha as *Mennebti*, "the royal pavilion of repose." But they have not done so, and until this is done, or further evidence connecting Aha with Menes is adduced,[49] it seems

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pigeon breast is an addition not found under Narmer. Neither fig. 1, 2, or 3 shows any likeness to the hawks of Aha carved on ivory and ebony in *R.T.*, ii, Pl. III, 1 and 4, here reproduced as figs. 4 and 5 respectively, both of which have the flattened head and the long wings of the true falcon. The incurved top of the rectangle, on which Dr. Sethe lays stress as a proof of identical treatment, is also replaced by a straight line in fig. 2 and fig. 5, as in fig. 6, which is taken from *R.T.*, ii, Pl. II, 4. I owe this plate to the kindness of Mr. Nash, who has photographed the figures in question.

[48] Seine Gründe dafür können mir aber nicht einleuchten. *Beiträge*, etc., p. 32, iv, 3.

[49] M. Amélineau, as has been noted above, says that he thinks he possesses a monument where Prof. Petrie's kings are "classés chronologiquement," but that he will not publish it at present (*N.F. d'A.*, ii, p. 309). M. Maspero's discoveries at Saqqarah, or Mr. Garstang's at Negadah, may in the meantime throw further light on the subject. It should be noticed that, while Dr. Naville's interpretation

to me that Dr. Naville's very full and clear explanation of the whole Negadah tablet must hold the field. The argument from silence has its dangers, but it is certainly almost incredible that, although we now possess many inscriptions of Aha, the only piece that in any way connects that king with the name of Menes is still the one discovered in 1897 at Negadah, which is susceptible of a different explanation.

It follows from what has been said that the only two kings of Abydos whose identity has been absolutely fixed are Den and Azab, who are the Usaphais and Miebis respectively of Manetho. All identifications of those claimed as earlier must fail until it can be proved that Aha is Menes. Merneit is not a king, but, in view of the stele found by Prof. Petrie, a queen, and probably the queen of Den. No *suten bat* name has been found for Mersekha (Semerkhet) or Qa, though it is probable that the last-named king is the "scorpion" king of Hieraconpolis. Both he and his temple-companion Narmer belong to the IInd dynasty, the last-named being most probably Betchu or Boethos, its first king according to Manetho. This seems the best scheme at present obtainable, and although. like all working hypotheses, it is liable to be upset by future discoveries, its main lines seem pretty well assured. But it must not be taken as in any way derogating from the value of the work done by M. Amélineau and Prof. Petrie who, by their discoveries at Abydos, have rendered an incalculable service to science. That they should at first have failed to perceive the exact order of the monuments discovered by them is as natural as that sailors, approaching for the first time an unknown shore, should be mistaken in the relative positions of capes and headlands. The merit in both cases lies in their enabling us to touch land at all.

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extends to the whole tablet, his adversaries have as yet only commented upon the *nebti* and *men* signs. It is difficult to see how they can explain the in which these groups are enclosed except as a cartouche, and everything at present goes to show that the cartouche only came in with the Memphite dynasties. *Cf.* Naville, *L.P.A.M.*, i, pp. 113 and 123.

Fig. 1.
Carved Slate from Hieraconpolis.
From a photograph of the original in the Cairo Museum.

Fig. 3.
Abydos II, v, 32.
(E. E. Fund.)

Fig. 2.
Royal Tombs I, iv, 2.
(E. E. Fund.)

Fig. 4.
Royal Tombs II, iii, 1.
(E. E. Fund.)

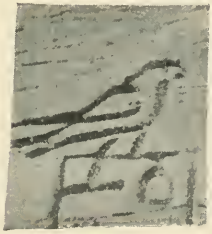


Fig. 5.
Royal Tombs II, iii, 4.
(E. E. Fund.)

Fig. 6.
Royal Tombs II, ii, 4.
(E. E. Fund.)

A LATIN DEED OF MANUMISSION (A.D. 221).

IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON. LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY, *F.S.A.*

By Seymour de Ricci.

Although the setting free of a slave was one of the most frequent acts of Roman every-day life, we had not yet a single copy of an original Latin deed of manumission.[1] Students will be glad to learn that the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney has been fortunate enough to add to his splendid collection of papyri, the only Latin manumission yet discovered. He has had the great kindness of allowing me to copy and publish this important document, which will prove interesting to many a student of Roman law.

It is written on two wooden tablets, obtained in 1903 by Lord Amherst from the well-known Paris dealer, Mihran Sivadjian. The exact provenance of the tablets was not known to the vendor, who had bought them in Middle Egypt, but the contents prove clearly that they originally came from Hermupolis Magna, the modern Ashmuneïn.

The accompanying fac-similes (Plates II & III), exactly the size of the original tablets, are photographic reproductions of my hand-made drawings of the boards. It would have been doubtless more desirable to give direct photographs of the tablets themselves, but the wood is so dark, and the ink is so faint, that no photograph would have proved legible. I must however warn the reader that my fac-simile of the handwriting, though faithful enough as to the shapes of the letters, does not always give a very accurate idea of the graceful and flowing strokes of the reed, which was evidently as supple and as flexible an instrument as the best quill pen.

The deed, as stated above, is written on two wooden tablets. Each of them is $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. long and $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. broad (183 × 151 mm.); the wood is apparently sycamore. On the edge of each tablet are pierced three holes, A B C, A′B′C′, the middle one (B,B′) being larger than the two other holes. These holes were made use of in the following way: strings were passed through the two pairs of smaller holes (A,A′; C,C′), forming a hinge, joining the two tablets

[1] With the possible exception of a sixth century mediæval papyrus; *cf.* Appendix I, *d.*

by one edge and enabling them to be opened and shut, like a book. This double tablet, technically known as a *diploma* or *diptychon*, had four pages: 1, 2, 3, 4. The deed having been drawn up, was written out twice: once on the inner pages (2, 3) and once on the outer ones (1, 4), leaving a blank space of about half a page on page 1 for the signatures. A third string was then passed through the central holes (B, B′), closing up the *diptychon* and hiding the inner pages from sight; the string was then tied up by a bow or a knot (across p. 1), which was then carefully secured by the wax or clay seals of the several witnesses. Unfortunately on the Amherst tablets both seals and strings have disappeared; but the accompanying photograph (Plate I) of a somewhat similar tablet from the Danube valley[2] will give a good idea of the general appearance of a sealed tablet.

The following passage of the *Sententiæ* of Julius Paulus (written about A.D. 212) mentions an interesting Senatus consult on the sealing up of legal deeds: *Amplissimus ordo decrevit eas tabulas, quæ publici vel privati contractus scripturam continent, adhibitis testibus, ita signari, ut in summa marginis ad mediam partem perforatæ triplici lino constringantur, atque impositæ supra linum ceræ signa imprimantur, ut exteriori scripturæ fidem interior reseret.* (Paulus, *Sent.* V, 25, 6 = Girard, *Textes*, ed. 3, p. 426, *cf.* p. 851.)

On the outer pages, 1 and 4 (see Plates II & III), the deed was written out in black ink with the reed. On the inner pages, 2 and 3, the text was engraved on black wax with a sharp metal point; a raised margin, about half an inch wide, runs round pages 2 and 3, protecting the writing. Unfortunately the Egyptian climate has proved too warm for the Roman wax, which has partly melted, so that the writing is hardly legible. Enough however remains to show that the inner text was identically the same as the outer one. I have not been able to make a fac-simile of the very faint remains of the inner text.

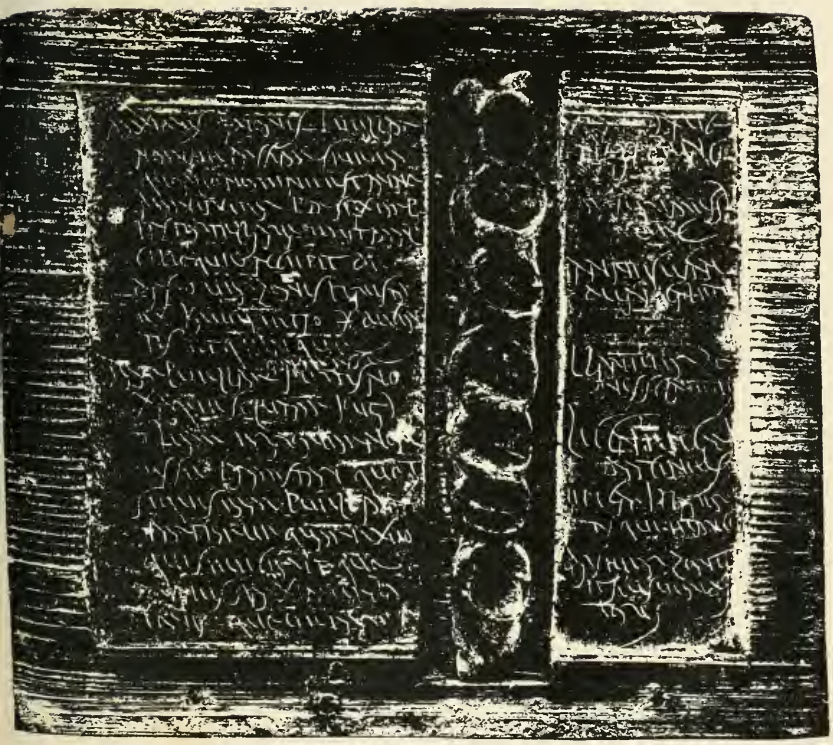
It is not the first time that we find Latin deeds on waxed tablets.[3] Two great hoards of such tablets have already been discovered:—

(*a*) Thirty-nine tablets (forming 25 deeds) have been found at Verespatak in Transylvania, in the ancient gold mines of Alburnus

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. III, p. 938.

[3] The use of such tablets continued in France till the fourteenth century. See Edélestand du Méril, *De l'usage non interrompu jusqu'à nos jours des tablettes en cire*, reprinted in his *Etudes sur quelques points d'archéologie et d'histoire littéraire.* (Paris, 1862. 8°.)

PLATE I.



A TABLET FROM TRANSYLVANIA,

Showing the seals.

maior. They are all published in fac-simile by Mommsen in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. III, pp. 921–960 (*cf.* pp. 1058 and 2215).[4]

(*b*) A much larger find of tablets (153 different deeds) was made at Herculaneum in July, 1875. The tablets, found in a box, contain receipts delivered to the banker L. Caecilius Jucundus, and are of great legal interest. An admirable edition has been given by the late K. Zangemeister also in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. IV, Supplement I (1898).[5]

The chief difference between these two groups and the Amherst tablets is, that most of the Herculanean and Dacian deeds are engraved with a point on three wooden tablets, and not on two *i.e.*, on a *triptychon*, and not on a *diptychon*.

Wooden tablets have been frequently found in Egypt. They are generally covered with schoolboy's exercises in Greek, though tablets with accounts scribbled on them have been copied by M. Jouguet in the Cairo Museum.[6]

Latin tablets from Egypt were hitherto quite unknown, with the single exception of a small fragment, yet unpublished, belonging to the Bodleian library, and which I am glad to be able to make known for the first time (*cf.* Appendix II).

A striking parallel to the Amherst *diptychon* may be found in the well known "military diplomas," which contain copies of the imperial edict delivered to Roman veterans having served twenty-five years. These diplomas, of which more than one hundred and ten are now known, are always on two bronze tablets, joined by strings or wire hinges, closed up and sealed down exactly in the same manner as the Amherst *diptychon*. The text of the edict is likewise written out twice, once on the inner pages and once on the outer ones. The object of this duplicate inner copy was to prevent any alterations being made to the outer deed, or, as Julius Paulus puts it, *ut exteriori scripturae fidem interior reseret*. A similar precaution was made use of many centuries earlier in the clay Babylonian tablets.

[4] See also P. F. Girard, *Textes de droit romain*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1903. 16°), pp. 802–804.

[5] See also Girard, *op. laud.*, pp. 820–827.

[6] No list of Greek wooden tablets from Egypt has yet been published. There are specimens in various museums at London, Oxford, Paris, Marseilles, Leyden, Turin, Berlin, Vienna, New York, Alexandria, and Cairo.

The deed of manumission contained in the Amherst *diptychon*, may be divided into three parts :—

(*a*) The deed itself, written out twice, in Latin cursive (pp. 1–4 and 2–3).

(*b*) The signatures of the parties named, in Greek cursive (p. 4).

(*c*) The signatures of the witnesses, in Greek cursive (p. 1).

The Amherst *diptychon* is of great palaeographical interest, as it gives a most important specimen of dated Latin cursive handwriting (A.D. 221) ; the exterior copy of *a*, written in black ink, is in a good flowing cursive, with strong, round, well-formed letters. As may be seen from the fac-simile, it is by no means difficult to decipher. Very few abbreviations are used by the scribe, and they are all very easy to explain.

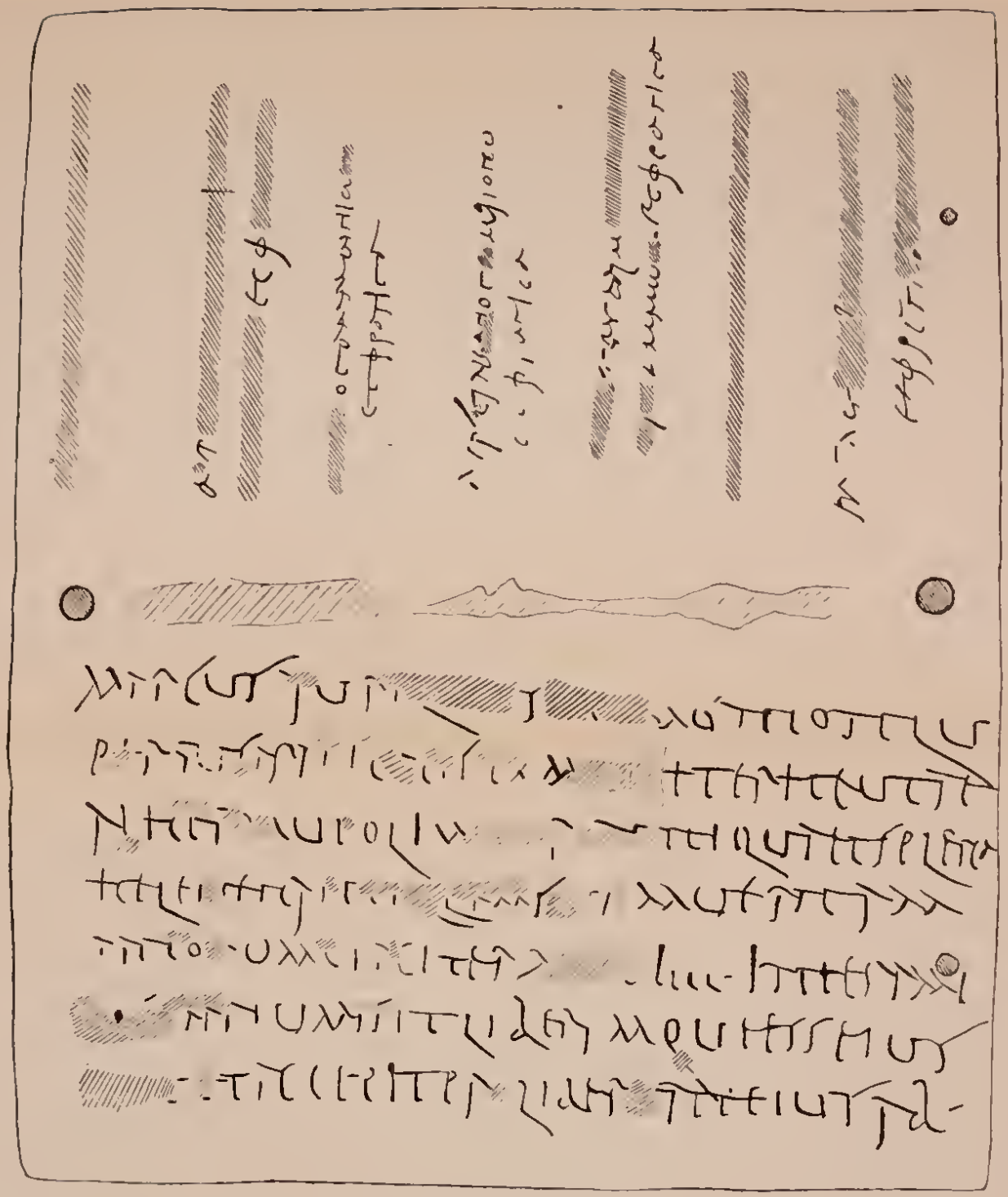
No published document, either on papyrus, on parchment, or on wood, contains an exactly similar handwriting, but an interesting parallel may be found in an unpublished Berlin papyrus (P. 8334) of which I possess a photograph. A few years ago it would have been considered unwise to compare scriptural forms of papyri with those of texts written on such a different material as wood or even vellum, but it seems now an established fact that the material used to write upon has had but little influence on the handwriting itself.

With the Amherst text may be also compared the Oxford fragment published on Plate IV. On both documents the inner writing engraved upon wax is quite different in character from the exterior pen and ink cursive I have just been describing. It is the ordinary cursive of Roman graffiti, of the *tituli scariphati* so frequent on the walls of Pompei. Its distinctive feature is the continual use of the form **II** for the letter **E**.

There is little to be said about the Greek cursive of the various signatures ; it is the ordinary small sloping handwriting of papyri in the time of Caracalla.

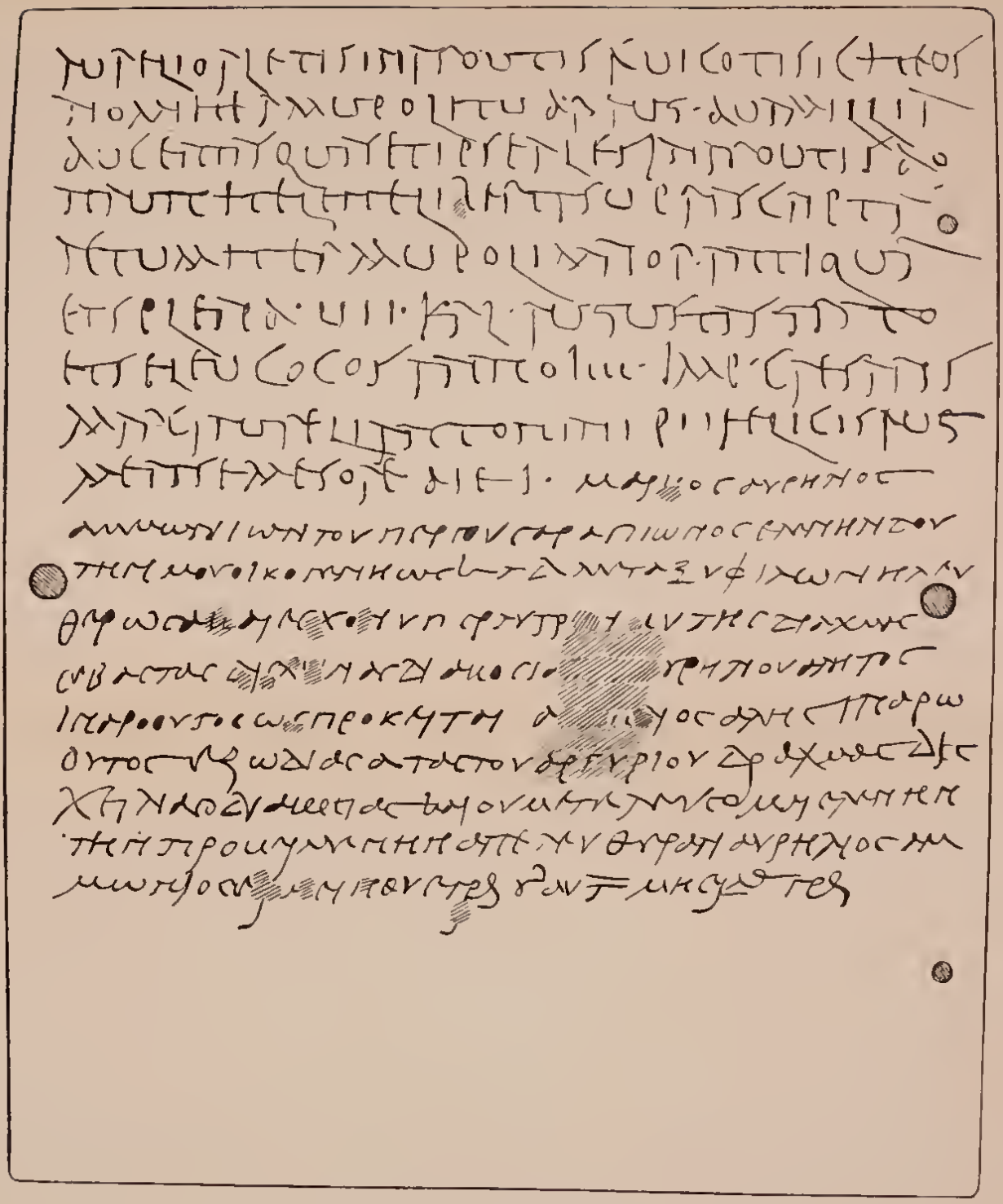
I will now give the text of the Amherst *diptychon*, first in Roman capitals as it appears on the tablets, and, secondly, in minuscule, with the necessary supplements and restitutions. May I remind readers that square brackets denote letters restored in lacunæ, and round brackets, the explanation of scriptorial abbreviations. The spelling of the original document has in no case been altered. Letters of doubtful reading have a dot below them.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., May, 1904



THE AMHERST DIPTYCHON.
Page 1.

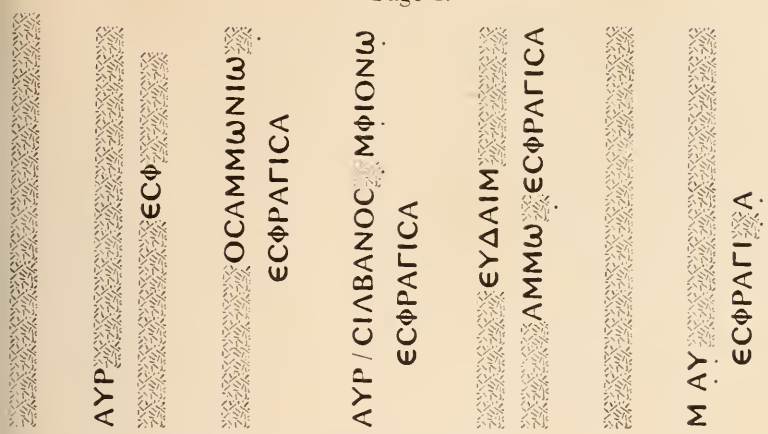
PLATE III.



THE AMHERST DIPTYCHON.

Page 4.

Page 1.



MARCVSAVREL S MMONIONLV
PERGVSARAPIONISEXM ETERHEVTAE
ABHERMVPOLIM RANTIQVAETSPLEND
HELENENANCILLAMSVAMVERNAM
ANNORVMCIRCITERX X|III · INTERAMI
OSMANVMISITLIBERAMQVEESSEIVS
TETACCEPITPR LIBER ATEEIVSAB

Page 4.

AVRELIOALETISINAROVTISA/VICOTISICHEOS
NOMIHERMVPOLITVDRAVG · DVAMILLIA
DVCENTASQVASETIPSEALESINAROVTISDO
NAVITHELENELIBERTASVPRASCRIPTA/
ACTVMHERMVPOLIMAIOR · ANTIQVA
ETSPLEND · VII · KAL · AVGVSTASGRATO
ETSELEVCOCOSANNOIIII · IMP CAESARIS
MARCIAVRELIANTONINIPIIFELICISAVG
MENSEMESOREDIEI · MAPKOCAYPHΛIOC
AMMΩNIΩNΛOYΠEPΓOYCAPAΠIΩNOCEΛENHNΔOY
ΛHNMOYOIKOΓENHΩCΛΔMETAΞYΦIΛΩNHΛEY

ΘΕΡΩCΑΚΑΙΕCΧΟΝΥΠΕΡΛΥΤΡ[illegible]ΝΑΥΤΗCΔΡΑΧΜΑC
CΕΒΑCΤΑCΔΙCΧΕΙΛΙΑCΔΙΑΚΟCΙΑ[illegible]ΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΑΛΗΤC
ΙΝΑΡΟΟΥΤΟCΩCΠΡΟΚΕΙΤΑΙ Α[illegible]ΗΛΙΟCΑΛΗCΙΝΑΡ
ΟΥΤΟCΕΞΩΔΙΑCΑΤΑCΤΟΥΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΔΡΑΧΜΑCΔΙC
ΧΕΙΛΙΑCΔΙΑΚΟCΙΑCΚΑΙΟΥΜΕΤΕΛΕΥCΟΜΑΙΕΛΕΝΗΝ
ΤΗΝΠΡΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΝΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟCΑΜ
ΜΩΝΙΟCΕΡΜΕΙΝΟΥΕΓΡΑ⸗ΥΠΑΥΤ̄ΜΗΕΙΔΟΓΡΑ⸗

Page 2.[7]

MAVRIILIVSAMM [*onion lupergu sa*]
[*rapionis ab hermupoli maior*]
ANTIIT [*sp*] LIIND [*helenen anci*] LLAM
SVAMVIIRNA [*m annorum circ*] ITIIR
XXXIIII [*inter amicos manumi*] SITLIBIi
RAM [*que esse iussit et ac*] CEPIT
PROL [*ibertate eius ab aur*] AL [*e*] TIS
INAR [*outis a uico tisicheos*] NOMI
HIIRMV [*politu dr · aug · dua*] MILLIA
DVCII [*ntas quas et ipse*] ALIISIN [*arou*]
TISDO [*nauit*] HII [*lene suprasc*] RIPTA
ACTVMHIIRMVPOLIMAIORANT
IITS [*p*] L [*en*] D [*vii*] KAL [*august*] ASGRATO

Page 3.

IITSIILIIVCOCOSANNO [*iiii*] IMPCAIISARIS
M [*a*] RCI [*au*] RELIANTON [*ini pii feli*] CISAVGVSTI
ΜΕ [*n*] S [*e mesore die i μαρκοσ αυρηλιοσ*]
[*a*]ΜΜΩΝ[*ιων λουπεργου σαραπιωνοσ*]ΕΛΕΝΗΝ
ΔΟΥΛΗΝ[*που οικογενη ωσ L λδ μ*]ΕΤΑΞΥ
ΦΙΛΩΝΗΛΕΥΘ[*ερωσα και εσχον υπερ*]
[*λυτρων αυτησ δραχμασ*]ΔΙCΧΕΙΛΙΑC

The last lines are illegible.

[7] For the two inner pages I give only one text, filling up the lacunæ with the help of exterior text.

Page 1. 1. *Marcus Aurel[iu]s [A]mmonion Lu-*
2. *-pergu Sarapionis ex M . . . eterheutae*
3. *ab Hermupoli M[aio]r(e) antiqua et splend(ida)*
4. *Helenen ancillam suam uernam.*
5. *annorum circiter x[x]xiiii inter ami-*
6. *-[c]os manumisit liberamque esse ius-*
7. *-[si]t et accepit pr[o] liber[t]ate eius ab*

Page 4. 8. *Aurelio Aletis Inaroutis a uico Tisicheos*
9. *nomi Hermupolitu dr(achmas) aug(ustas) dua millia*
10. *ducentas quas et ipse Ales Inaroutis do-*
11. *-nauit Helene liberta(e) suprascripta(e)*
12. *Actum Hermupoli Maior(e) antiqua*
13. *et splend(ida) vii kal(endas) Augustas Grato*
14. *et Seleuco co(n)s(ulibus) anno iiii Imp(eratoris) Cæsaris*
15. *Marci Aureli Antonini Pii Felicis Aug(usti)*
16. *mense Mesore die I.* Μαρκος Αυρηλιος
17. Αμμωνιων Λουπεργου Σαραπιωνος Ελενην δου-
18. -λην μου οικογενη ως (ετων) λδ μεταξυ φιλων ηλευ-
19. -θερωσα και εσχον υπερ λυτρ[ω]ν αυτης δραχμας
20. σεβαστας δισχειλιας διακοσια[ς απο Α]υρηλιου Αλητος
21. Ιναροουτος ως προκειται Α[υρ]ηλιος Αλης Ιναρω-
22. -ουτος εξωδιασα τας του αργυριου δραχμας δισ-
23. -χειλιας διακοσιας και ου μετελευσομαι Ελενην
24. την προκειμενην απελευθεραν. Αυρηλιος Αμ-
25. -μωνιος Ερμεινου εγρα(ψα) υπ(ερ) αυτ(ου) μη ειδ(τος) γρα(μματα)

TRANSLATION.

"Marcus Aurelius Ammonion, son of Lupergus, son of Sarapion . . . . . from Hermupolis Maior, the Ancient and Magnificent, has set free, between friends, his female house-born slave, Helene, about 34 years old, and has bidden her to be free, and has received for her freedom from Aurelius Ales, son of Inarous, from the village of Tisichis, in the Hermupolite nome, two thousand two hundred Augustal drachms, which Ales, son of Inarous, has himself made a present of to Helene, the above-named freed woman. Done at Hermupolis Maior, the Ancient and Magnificent, the viith day before the Kalends of August, Gratus and Seleucus being consuls, the fourth year of the Emperor Cæsar, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,

the Pious, the Happy, Augustus, the first day of the month of Mesore.

I, Markos Aurelios Ammonion, son Lupergos, son of Sarapion, I have set free, between friends, my house-born female slave Helene, about thirty-four years old, and have received for her freedom two thousand two hundred Augustal drachms from Aurelius Ales, son of Inarous, as written above.

I, Aurelios Ales, son of Inarous, have paid the two thousand two hundred silver drachms, and will make no claim on (*or* against) Helene, the above-named freedwoman. I, Aurelios Ammonios, son of Hermeinos, have written for him, as he knoweth not letters."

(*To be continued.*)

THE SUBJECT OF EASTER

AT THE COUNCILS OF NICE AND OF ANTIOCH.

By Prof. Dr. E. Mahler.

The Annual Festivals of the Church are divided into the two classes of "Fixed" and "Moveable." The first are held on a fixed date, and are independent of the day of the week. Christmas Day, for example, is always on December 25th, no matter on what day of the week that date may fall. The "Moveable" Feasts, on the other hand, are observed on a certain and invariable day of the week. Among such festivals are Easter, Whit Sunday, Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, &c. Now it is the date of Easter that fixes the date of the other moveable feasts. Thus, Whit Sunday occurs seven weeks after Easter; Ascension Day is ten days before Whit Sunday (and therefore on a Thursday); and Corpus Christi is ten days after Whit Sunday, and therefore also on a Thursday. It is the same with the other feasts and fasts, as Ash Wednesday, &c.

To those who are not astronomers, the rules fixing the date of Easter appear very complicated, and, at least according to all historic authorities down to our own times, have as their sole object the avoidance of the coincidence of Easter with the Jewish Passover. But we find in the Greorgian calendar for 1903, that *Easter coincides with the Jewish Passover on the same Sunday, that is to say, April 12th of the Greorgian calendar, or the 15th Nisan of the Jews.*

This event is worthy of attention. It is the fourth occasion on which, in the Greorgian calendar, Easter and the Passover have coincided on the same Sunday. The new calendar of Pope Gregory came into use on October 4th, 1582. On April 19th, 1609, the two feasts coincided; on April 14th, 1805, the coincidence occurred for

the second time; twenty years later, on April 3rd, 1825, for the third time, and on April 12th, 1903, for the fourth time.

The history of the matter, up to the time of the reformation of the calendar, is as follows:—

From the end of the VIIIth century down to the introduction of the Gregorian calendar, that is to say, for eight centuries, Easter and the Passover never coincided. But previous to the VIIIth century such coincidence frequently happened. In the VIIIth century it occurred twice, viz., on April 14th, 743, and on March 23rd, 783. In the VIIth century it occurred once only, on March 31st, 614. But when we get to the VIth century we find there were eight instances of coincidence, and nine in both the Vth and IVth centuries, as are shown in the following table:—

VITH CENTURY A.D.		VTH CENTURY A.D.		IVTH CENTURY A.D.	
April 11th	594	April 11th	499	April 2nd	394
March 26th	590	April 14th	496	April 13th	374
April 6th	570	March 28th	465	March 28th	370
March 25th	563	April 8th	445	April 1st	367
April 5th	543	March 23rd	441	April 12th	347
March 23rd	536	April 3rd	421	March 27th	343
April 16th	523	April 7th	418	April 7th	323
March 31st	519	March 22nd	414	March 22nd	319
		April 14th	401	March 25th	316

So that in the IVth and at the beginning of the Vth century (*i.e.*, 301–465), each time that the Passover fell on a Sunday, it coincided with Easter. The year 387 is the only exception, for in that year the Passover was celebrated on March 21st, while Easter fell on April 25th, almost the latest possible date for it.

This is a surprising fact, for in the IVth century were held the Councils of Nice (A.D. 325) and of Antioch (A.D. 341), which had the subject under their consideration. It is remarkable that if these Councils seriously considered this subject of the coincidence of the feasts, and laid down a rule for fixing the date of Easter in such a way that it could *never* coincide with the Jewish Passover, this rule was already in abeyance in 343, only two years after the Council, and again four years later, in 347; for in these years, as well as in 367, 370, and 374, the Christian Festival coincided with that of the Jews.

It must be remembered that the dates given above are based on the supposition that the full-moon fixing the Passover (the 15th Nisan), was not determined by observation of the moon, but was calculated by the aid of a cycle of nineteen years, just as Easter was fixed by the Alexandrian Pascal cycle of nineteen years, by means of which the limits of Easter were easily found, that is to say, the date and day of the week of the full-moon, and, consequently, Easter Sunday. Since, especially in the early centuries, the date of Easter was not fixed in the same way by the different Christian communions, we must more closely examine this subject in order to see if the coincidences mentioned occur when Easter is fixed, not according to the Alexandrian rules, but according to other rules which have come down to us.

The Quartadecimanes, who, no matter what day of the week it fell on, always kept Easter on the day of the full-moon next after the Spring Equinox, do not come within our consideration, for among them the coincidence of the feast with that of the Jews was almost regular, because the Jews counting the lunar months, the 15th Nisan was always the day of the full-moon.

We will confine ourselves therefore to the Christians of western countries, who had their special rules by which they fixed Easter Day. I must especially mention the Canon of Hippolyte, which has been preserved for us by a marble monument in the Lateran Museum at Rome. This monument represents the Bishop seated on his throne, and was found in 1551 on the road leading to Tivoli, near the Church of St. Lawrence. On the right hand side of the throne the following inscription is engraved :—

> "Ἔτους ἁ βασιλείας Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτοκράτορος ἐγένετο ἡ ΔΙ τοῦ πάσχα εἰδοῖς Ἀπρειλίαις Σαββάτῳ ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς γενομένου. Ἔσται τοῖς ἑξῆς ἔτεσιν καθὼς ὑποτέτακται ἐν τῷ πίνακι. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τοῖς παρωχηκόσιν καθὼς σεσημείωται. Ἀπονηστίζεσθαι δὲ δεῖ ἂν ἐμπέσῃ κυριακή."

> "In the first year of the reign of the Autocrat Alexander the XIV Paschal moon will coincide with the Ides of April, on a Saturday, after the intercalary month. In the following years the event will occur as is shown by the Table given below ; and in the years gone by Easter has fallen on the days already mentioned. The Feasts must always be separated by a Sunday."

This inscription is followed by a table giving the dates of the full-moon which fix Easter for a cycle of sixteen years, commencing with the first year of Alexander Severus, A.D. 222. Each date is followed by the day; but not only for the cycle commencing in A.D. 222, but for seven cycles, so that this Canon extends, not over sixteen, but over $16 \times 7 = 112$ years; it serves therefore to determine the date and day of the full-moon of Easter. On the left-hand side of the throne we find a table of Easter Sundays for the 112 years, with the following inscription:—

"Ἔτει Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος τῷ ἀ ἀρχή. Αἱ κυριακαι τοῦ Πάσχα κατὰ ἔτος."

"The beginning in the first year of Cæsar Alexander. The annual Easter Sundays."

This Canon, as IDELER[1] has shown us, has great faults, by far the most important of which is that inasmuch as sixteen solar years = 5,844 days, which = 198 synodical months and three days, it follows that the dates of this table varied from the astronomical events at the end of the first cycle by three days, at the end of the fifth cycle by fifteen days, and after the lapse of eighty years—A.D. 300—the period of the full-moon, according to the Canon of Hippolyte, coincided, in fact, with the new-moon, and thus Easter was celebrated at new-moon instead of full-moon. Notwithstanding the great respect with which Hippolyte, pupil of Irenæus, was regarded at Rome, it appears highly probable that his Canon was only made use of during the IIIrd century,—a Canon that might be mentioned is that of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria; but we know nothing more of it than that it employs a cycle of eight years, and that its principle was never to celebrate Easter before the spring Equinox.—So also the cycle of nineteen years of Anatolius, one of the most celebrated men of the IIIrd century, is unknown to us. Even if we had a knowledge of some of its principles, we could not reconstruct his table. We know that in the first year of his cycle of nineteen years the XIVth moon fell on April 4th, and that he had commenced his cycle in A.D. 277; but that is the whole extent of our knowledge.

We now have to consider the Latin cycle of eighty-four years, of which no doubt the Latin Church made use. If we compare the Easter Sundays with the Julian dates of the Jewish Passover, we find the following coincidences:—

[1] *Handbuch der math. und tech. Chronologie*, II, 222.

IVTH CENTURY A.D.		VTH CENTURY A.D.		VITH CENTURY A.D.	
347	April 12th	414	March 22nd	519	March 31st
367	April 1st	418	April 7th	523	April 16th
370	March 28th	421	April 3rd	536	March 23rd
374	April 13th	441	March 23rd	543	April 5th
387	March 21st	445	April 8th	563	March 25th
394	April 2nd	465	March 28th	570	April 6th
		468	March 24th	590	March 26th
		472	April 9th	594	April 2nd
		492	March 29th		
		496	April 14th		
		499	April 11th		

We see that the Latin method also failed to avoid the coincidences of the Feasts, which were still more numerous in the Vth century.

These facts convince us that the Councils of Nice and of Antioch considered the subject of Easter, because of the dispute between the Eastern and Western Churches, which could not agree about the different dates of Easter. But in that case it is impossible that the object in view can have been to avoid the coincidence of the Christian Easter and the Jewish Passover: for had that been the object, it would, after a few years, have been seen that the end was not obtained.

According to tradition, a Canon of Antioch runs as follows[2]:—

> "The Church ought to exclude and reprove any man who, with regard to Easter, persists in disputing the excellent decisions, and dares to disobey the commands, of the holy and great Synod assembled in the presence of Constantine, the pious Emperor, and beloved of the gods. This refers more especially to the laity, but if an ecclesiastic, a bishop, priest, or deacon, obstinately celebrates Easter with the Jews, a practice which leads to the disquieting of the people and the Church, he will from henceforth be considered by the holy Synod as an apostate who is not only himself a sinner, but a cause of corruption and wavering in many others."

[2] Mansi, *Coll. Concil.*, II, 1307; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, I, 337, 513.

This Canon severely forbids Christians to keep Easter at the same time as the Jews. But only two years after the Council of Antioch, in A.D. 343, and again in A.D. 347, we find these severely forbidden coincidences, which proves that the decisions of the Council cannot be those which tradition has handed down to us: in fact, in no Canon of the Council of Nice do we find the slightest evidence of a decision concerning Easter. It seems to us that the Council did not concern itself with the subject of the coincidence of the Christian and the Jewish Feasts, but that it desired to definitely put an end to the dispute concerning Easter between the Church of the East and the Church of the West. We again meet with this endeavour at the Council of Arles, in A.D. 314. One of the twenty-five Canons which are to be found in Vol. I of the *Collectio Conciliorum Galliæ*, 1789,[3] is thus expressed:—

> "Can. I. Ut uno die et tempore pascha celebratur. Primo loco de observatione paschæ domini, ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur et iuxta consuetudinem literas ad omnes tu dirigas."

One object among others of the Council of Arles was then to cause Christians—all Christians—to keep Easter "*uno die et tempore*," and so assure the supremacy of the Latin fixtures of Easter, and the suppression of all others.

The later Councils also considered the disputes about Easter, but they also had no other object than to terminate the dissension which distracted the Church. The Jews were regarded only from the point of view of the Christians of Asia Minor, who celebrated Easter, like the Jews did theirs, on 15th Nisan, no matter on what day of the week, whilst the majority of Christians (the Western countries, Egypt, Greece), kept Easter on the Sunday following the day of the full-moon. From these facts we see that when the Passover fell on a Sunday, no one was hindered from observing Easter. It seems to us that more attention was paid to the Easter full-moon coming after the Spring Equinox; this was a rule which was very strictly observed. If the 15th Nisan fell on, or preceded, March 21st of the Julian calendar, the Christians regarded the next full-moon as the Paschal moon: thus in A.D. 292 the Jews kept the Passover on March 20th, whilst the Christians kept Easter on April 24th.

[3] Bruno, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 107; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, I, 205.

So also in A.D. 387 the Passover fell on Sunday, March 21st, and Easter was kept on April 25th. That, as a fact, much importance was attached to these decisions is proved by one of the Apostolic canons which were translated from Greek into Latin by the Abbé Dionysus Exiguus about A.D. 500. We there find (Canon VIII), "Si quis Episcopus aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus sanctum Paschæ diem ante vernale æquinoctium cum Judæis celebraverit, abdiciatur."

"If a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon keep the Holy Easter before the Spring equinox, with the Jews, he shall be expelled."

That portion of the circular of the Synod which referred to this matter, said:[4] "We announce to you the joyful news of unity with regard to Holy Easter. By your prayers this matter has been brought to a happy termination. All our brethren in the East, who formerly kept Easter with the Jews, will henceforth celebrate this feast with the Romans, with all the others who for so long have celebrated it with us." The following supposition seems to us much more probable: The limits of Easter, which were established little by little, were not directed against the Jews until the middle ages; Christian chronology was accepted and spread abroad in the time of Charlemagne. It is strange to see that the period down to the introduction of the new calendar is remarkable in that Easter *never* coincided with the Passover. It is very probable that the people of the middle-ages, considering that according to the limits of Easter sanctioned by the Church that festival could never coincide with the parallel Jewish feast, regarded this canon as a measure against Judaism, and as the consequence of contempt for the Jews, and to give it the sanction of authority referred it to the Councils of Nice and of Antioch. In this way we can explain the decree of the Emperor Constantine addressed to those who did not take part in the Council of Nice, and full of an ill-omened disdain of the Jews. From it we will quote:—[5]

> "When the subject of the holy day of Easter was arrived at, it was unanimously considered fitting that the same festival should be observed on *the same day* everywhere throughout the world; for can anything more noble or more fitting be imagined than that the Festival which gives us the hope of

[4] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, I, 9; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, I.

[5] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, I, 326–328.

immortality should be celebrated without hindrance, with one universal practice. It was unanimously declared unworthy to follow, in the matter of this Holy Festival, the Jews who have soiled their hands by horrible outrage, and who are spiritually blind. In rejecting their practice we can transmit our—the more correct—date for Easter, which was preserved for us from the first day of Christ's sufferings down to the present time. We ought to have nothing in common with the Jewish people, for we have received another path to Redemption; our worship has a different way, truer and grander, and in unanimously accepting this way, dear brothers, we withdraw from the evil company of the Jews; for it is truly foolish when they boastingly pretend that we cannot even celebrate this Festival without their instructions. How can they have true knowledge, those who, after the death of our Lord, let themselves be guided like madmen, not by reason, but by ferocious violence; where will their folly drive them to? Through it they no longer see the truth on this point, the subject of Easter, so that, full of errors and far from improvement, they sometimes celebrate two Passovers in the same year. How can we follow them, those who are sick with error? for it is impossible for us to have two Easters in one year. But even if that was not the case, you ought, nevertheless, always to take great care that your pure souls should not have anything apparently in common with the customs of such absolutely wicked people (the Jews). Then reflect that a disagreement concerning this great festival is forbidden. We inherit from our Saviour alone a Festival of our redemption, that is to say, of His holy martyrdom, and He alone founded the Catholic Church. Think then how inconvenient and fatal a thing it is that on the same day some fast and others give great feasts; and that after the festival some enjoy their days of pleasure, and others have their prescribed fasts. Divine Providence wills that this matter should be amended, and that it should be regulated in such a way that, in my opinion, everyone will understand it. Since it is a duty to have nothing in common with the murderers of our Lord, and because the custom that the Churches of the West, of the North, of the South, and some of those of the East, uphold is the best, a large part of the world has recognized it as good, and I would assure them that the custom observed at Rome,

in Africa, throughout Italy, Egypt, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Libya; throughout Achaia, as well in the dioceses of Asia and Pontus as in Cilicia, will be welcomed and acknowledged by you to be good. You ought to reflect that not only is the number of the churches the greatest in the provinces enumerated, but also desire that which reason demands, and have nothing in common with the Jews. To sum up: general opinion has decided that the Holy Festival of Easter ought to be celebrated everywhere on the same day, and it is not fitting that there should be any dispute on so sacred a subject. Since this is so, accept the grace of God, and the divine commands, for all that occurs at the Council of the Bishops is based on the will of God. Mention this matter to all your brethren, and introduce this regulation of the Holy Festival among you, so that if, as I desire, I come among you, I may celebrate this holy day with you, and that I may rejoice with you in seeing that by the aid of the power of God we have brought to nought the malice of the devil, and that faith, peace, and concord flourish among us. May God keep you in his grace, my brothers."

If the Synod had really been so shocked at the coincidence of the Festivals in question, as is implied by the words "have nothing in common with the Jews," a conference that included so many learned men, both from Rome and from Alexandria, would certainly have taken the necessary steps to avoid the coincidence of Easter with the Jewish Passover, and would have ordered that this festival should be celebrated *a week later than* the Jewish celebration. No such rule was promulgated. The only decision arrived at was that if the Paschal full-moon fell on a Sunday, Easter was to be postponed to the following Sunday. We notice that on this occasion no one paid attention to the fact that the Jews count the day, not from mid-night to mid-night, but from night-fall, and that consequently it might happen that when the full-moon (astronomical or fixed by a Table) falls on a Saturday evening, the Jews commence the 15th Nisan with the evening, and celebrate the Passover on the Sunday, with the Christians. And we see, in fact, some years after the Council of Nice, in spite of the rules there laid down, Easter coincided with the Passover of "the hateful people, the Jews." It is evident that the object of the Great Synod was only that which is contained in the opening words of the decree of

Constantine given above. The rest of the attack on the Jews belongs to later times, when, in point of fact, the coincidences no longer occurred; or even the whole of this decree, like others which are known to us as decisions of the Council, may be apochryphal, and only manufactured later, in order to give greater emphasis to the trickery of the Jews.

(*To be continued.*)

SAPATTU, THE BABYLONIAN SABBATH.[1]

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, *LL.D.*

Dr. Daiches has called my attention to the tablet K. 3597, of which five lines are given in the Catalogue of the Kouyunjik collection. This inscription is the left-hand half of a wide and rather squat tablet written in double columns. It is said, in the catalogue, to be part of an astrological text, a description which a reference to the moon (?) and the sun in the sixth line of the original seems to justify. As, however, some of the lines are the same as are found in the hemerologies, and as they are all, except in two cases, separated from each other by division-lines, the probability is, that this inscription contained renderings of certain passages in those texts.[2]

It shows that the old reading *šalṭiš* (*šaldiš*) *úl ita(m)me*, 'he (the king) shall not talk victoriously (?)'[3] is correct, not 'the priestess shall not disclose (a divine decision).' The next phrase seems to be, 'a seer shall not do a thing (*amata*^{m}) in a secret place.' To all appearance, these and the other phrases quoted presented

[1] See "*Proceedings*," Feb. 1904, pp. 51–56.

[2] This is also indicated by the fact, that the division-lines cross the line separating the left-hand column from that on the right.

[3] ? Vaingloriously.

difficulties, and required explanation, even for the ancient Babylonians to understand them.

The translation of many of the words in the plate facing p. 56, "*Proceedings*," Feb. 1904, is provisional—see p. 52, l. 7.

[Since writing the above, the translation "moon" (for the character [illegible])[4] has been confirmed. This character is to all appearance a variant of [illegible] which is given by the fragment 81-11-3, 1539 as being pronounced [illegible] (*mašdu*) in Sumero-Akkadian, and translated by *inbu*, "fruit," [illegible], "the god Sin," etc., in Semitic Babylonian. The title of the series of hemerologies, [illegible], was therefore *Sin* (or *îriḫu*) *bêl ârḫi*^{m}, "The moon, lord of the month." Compare *Cuneiform Texts*, part xi, pl. 43, R^{m} 600, l. 7; 37,966, l. 3; part xii, 25, l. 8 from end; *Cuneif. Inscr. of W. Asia*, vol. v, pl. 19, ll. 9 and 57–60. Apparently the moon and a fruit were represented by the same character on account of their form.

As one of the meanings of [illegible] is *ṣibutu*, "wish," this suggests the rendering "it (the 7th day) is not suitable to make a wish," instead of "for doing business." "To make a curse" is also possible, but in the *Proceedings* for Jan., 1884, p. 57, line 3, at the end, the phrase [illegible], which is apparently to be transcribed *ṣibut-su ikaššad*, "he shall attain his wish," rather favours the other rendering.]

[4] See line 6, page 162.

NOTES ON SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

BY STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*

III.

(*Continued from page* 112.)

From a critical study of the Biblical names compounded with *El*, Prof. Gray has concluded that this formation was current in the earliest period of Old Testament nomenclature; names *ending in El* were still being formed in the post-exilic period, but names *beginning with El* had all but, if not quite, exhausted themselves.[8] It is worth noticing that there are no compounds of *El* in the Egyptian-Aramaic papyrus (*P.S.B.A.*, 1903, p. 263), and that the proportion of names in *El* to those in *Yahu*, on the whole, agrees with that in Biblical names from the VIIth century down to the exilic or post-exilic age. It may be observed also, that the formation *El* preceded by the imperfect first appears in personal names at the end of the VIIth century (Gray, p. 215).[9]

Compounds of אדן, which in the Old Testament were never frequent, and ceased early in or before the Exile (Gray, p. 137), are illustrated by the new name אדנישע, "the Lord saves" (*i.e.*, Adonisha, cp. Elisha), and possibly by אד[נ]מעיץ, Adoni-maaz, cp. Ahimaaz. Ba'al appears only in the old Baal-hanan, and in the new בעלנתן* (Baal-nathan).

Shaddai, very rare in Hebrew names, is found only in אבשדי, "my father is Shaddai." The name corresponds to Ammi-shaddai, and like this name is, no doubt, an archaic and artificial invention. The seal in question is particularly remarkable on account of its being a unique specimen of Hebrew *boustrophedon* writing. The ב has an open top, and the א and י have late forms.

[8] My collection of tracings or drawings is not complete, but it may be mentioned that in the *new* אלרם and אלאמין, the מ has no longer the wavy shape which it has in the *familiar* Elishama.

[9] In Aramaic we have ירפאל (ascribed to VIIIth and VIIth century), יבחראל (VIIth) and יעדראל.

Apart from אבשדי, the only other compounds of אב are Abigail* (אבגיל) and Abiram or Abram (אברם); both are familiar, and are written in an ancient script. A doubtful compound of אח would be אח[מ]יעץ, but the lacuna seems to require more than one letter (above). אחת ("sister") appears only in אחתמלך (the wife of ישע); compounds of אחת and מלך are well-known in Phœnician, but one may compare the corresponding Aḥimelech, and the use of ישע in Hebrew (not in Phœnician) names. One other compound of מלך appears in גדמלך (the husband of מנחמת). עם may be recognised in אליעם, but there are no compounds of בת, חם or ד(ו)ד; בן appears only in בנסמרנר, the father of סריה (Aramaic ?).

The names in ה– comprise the obscure ממה, the (probably) Aramaic סריה, and the very late אבה.[10] In י– we find הנמי (?), חגי* (Haggai), עבדי (Abdi), פקחי, רפתי, and שבני. In א– are:—מכא., [11] עזא, צדקא, שועא and ישעא. Some of these may be noticed more advantageously under the simple names which we now proceed to enumerate.

עכבר (cp. Achbor) is the only animal name; זמריהו, it can scarcely be doubted, has no connection with *zemer*, "mountain-sheep." זכר*, in לזכר הושע, is probably a personal name, cp. Zecher (1 Chr. viii, 31), Zaccur and Zichri, in late writings. Ahaz (אחז), Hoshea* (הושע), and Haggai* require no comment. חרף, cp. Hareph (1 Chr. ii, 51); משלם, cp. Meshullam (temp. Josiah and later); עזא (Uzza); עזר, cp. Ezer and Azzur (in late writings); שלם, cp. Shallum; שמע, cp. Shama (1 Chr. xi, 44); שמר, cp. Shemer (1 Kings xvi, 24). נחם (son of 'Abdi), cp. Nahum, also Naham (1 Chr. iv, 19), the palæography suggests a late date, and Abdi appears only in late writings. מנחם, cp. Menahem (middle of VIIIth century); the name was popular later, and is possibly the Semitic equivalent of Menelaus (cp. Eliakim and Alcimus, Jeshua and Jason). The corresponding fem. מנחמת (wife of גדמלך) is possibly Phœnician rather than Israelite. פקח (Pekah), and פקחי are doubtless abbreviated forms of Pekahiah.

[10] Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, I, p. 141.

[11] Lidzbarski suggests תמכא, cp. תמכא, תמכאל on seals; as an alternative, read סמכא, and cp. the Hebrew Semachiah (סמכיה) and מרסמך on a seal.

אמיץ (a scribe), cp. Amoṣ, father of the prophet Isaiah. ישע, possibly Jeshua (but cp. Ishi ישעי, 1 Chr. ii, 31), or like ישעא, an abbreviation of ישעאל. שועא, cp. Shua (1 Chr. vii, 32), and שוע (Gen. xxxviii, 2). ישב, cp. Jashib (1 Chr. vii, 1, ktib), possibly an abbreviated form of Eliashib. יהוכל (see above, p. 112) if not a compound of יהו, should be mentioned here as a fuller form of יוכל (Jucal).

ירם suggests Joram (Jehoram); although in this case one would expect יורם, cp. יוקם. יחץ is possibly an abbreviation of Jahziel (יַחְצִיאֵל). צדקא is identical with Ṣidḳa, the name of a king of Ashkelon (701 B.C.); cp. further the names Zadok and Zedekiah. נאהבת, "beloved" (daughter of Remaliah), finds an analogy in the Jewish masc. אהבה. The retention of the old fem. ending ת may be noticed. In the masculine שבעת, the ת finds analogies in the Biblical Genubath, Goliath, Ginath and Shimrath; for the *name*, cp. Elisheba and Jehosheba, and the possibly corrupt יהושבעת (2 Chr. xxii, 11). צפן,* cp. Zephaniah,[12] שחרחר* "blackish," later in the sense of ugliness; מתת, cp. Mattat'ah (Ezr. x, 33, if correct), at all events worn down from Mattithiah. רפתי, also in Aramaic (end of VIIIth century), of obscure derivation (? רפא, to heal). האמן, cp. Heman (הימן)?

Of the remaining Hebrew names, גחז (Gehazi?) and נצר are palæographically uncertain, פקלל is possibly Assyrian, פרקל (or גרקל) may represent פרק־אל, and the meanings of הכל, המך (הסך?), חורין, חשבאמהל (?), חבז (חגז), הנמי, ננשלב are obscure. Whether the incomplete . . תרי is to be read . . תדי, and connected with the Jewish תדאי (Θαδδαῖος), must be left uncertain.

The foregoing examples may suffice to indicate the general character of the Hebrew names found upon the seals, scarabs and pottery-stamps. The material is imperfect inasmuch as the differentiation of Hebrew and Phœnician, or Hebrew and Aramaic names cannot always be effected with more than a certain amount of probability. For the sake of completeness it would be desirable to collect the Israelite names from other records (notably from

[12] In one instance the name somewhat resembles שפן, in which case we should have the familiar Shaphan ("the coney").

Assyria and Babylonia), also to endeavour to ascertain for how long a period each individual name continued to be used. It will have been noticed that names of a later specifically Jewish type or form are rare, and that we have not met with many old names which became common in later Jewish times. The latter statement may be tested by comparing our material with such a list of names as that in the Letter of Aristeas. Here we find Elisha (thrice), Nehemiah, Hananiah, Jeremiah and Isael (*i.e.*, ישעאל), once each; also Mattathiah (cp. מתת), Zedekiah (cp. צדקא), Jesus, Jesias and Jason (five times; cp. ישע, ישעא), Dathæus or Thaddæus (cp. תדי?). Against this scanty series, which comprises only five genuine examples, may be set the names in that document which have not yet been found upon seals:—Joseph (four times); Ezekiel, Zechariah, Judah,[13] Simon, Samuel and Jonathan (thrice each); Eleazer, Eshlemias (Shelemiah), Isaac, Jacob, Shabbethai (twice each)—not to mention such names as Hilkiah, Daniel, Levi, etc., which occur only once. The result, if I am not mistaken, has great significance, and it may be concluded that the names upon the intaglios on the whole are not the kind that were popular in the last century or so before the Christian era.

The list of names in the Letter of Aristeas thus forms, as it were, our *terminus ad quem* for the seals. Moreover, it will have been recognised that although several of the names which have been cited undoubtedly appear in Old Testament literature at an early period, the greater number first occur in the latter part of the Monarchy, and many of them do not seem to have been in popular use until the exilic or early post-exilic period. May we not find our *terminus a quo* in the writings of the Old Testament? At all events, however interesting the Hebrew intaglios may be for the study of Biblical personal names, it will perhaps be admitted that a critical examination of the latter is of no little importance for the study of these old seals, scarabs and pottery-stamps, and may even be of assistance in any attempt to trace the history of the old Hebrew alphabet.

[13] Judah occurs in a later seal, perhaps of the time of the first revolt (Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, I, p. 140).

THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET.

By E. J. Pilcher.

Speculations upon the origin of the alphabetic characters have usually proceeded upon the assumption that they were modifications of some kind of pictorial script; and the *names* of the letters have been appealed to in support of this assumption. But the objection is that we do not know the meanings of some of these names, and in the cases where the meaning is recognised, the characters frequently bear no resemblance to the object indicated. Thus no form of *Beth* looks anything like a "house," and no form of *Nun* has any resemblance to a "fish." There is thus no real reason for us to limit ourselves to hieroglyphics; and it is perfectly open to maintain that the alphabetic characters owed their form to arbitrary invention.

This hypothesis is by no means new, though it has not hitherto been received with very much favour. Dr. Lidzbarsky has directed attention to the fact that some of the Phœnician letters, at any rate, were not independent creations, but were developed from other characters by differentiation; for the earliest known form of *Cheth* must be an extension of *He*: *Teth* is merely *Tau* enclosed in a circle; and *Shin* has been modified into *Ṣade* by the mere prolongation of a stroke. Therefore arbitrary combinations of lines and circles have played *some* part in the evolution of the complete characters, and it remains to be seen if they cannot account for the whole.

No theory of origins can be considered satisfactory unless it accounts for the Hellenic as well as the Phœnician Alphabet; for although there is no doubt that alphabetic writing was a Semitic invention, yet it is equally certain that the system was communicated to the Greeks at a very early period, and that the Greeks preserved extremely archaic forms of the characters. Accordingly, in the

Plate accompanying this article there is first postulated a column of characters which may be regarded as the prototypes of the succeeding letters, and this is followed by typical examples of the most ancient Hellenic and Semitic alphabets, whose peculiarities it is endeavoured to explain by referring them all back to a common ancestor.

I. The Proto-Alphabet.

This is not an imaginary list, for every one of the forms can be found in some actual inscription. The alphabetic order has not been followed, because our object is to study the morphology of the letters; and it is to be premised that the order was a later refinement, perhaps not even contemplated by the original inventor.

The first group, *Tau*, *Zain* and *Samech*, are obvious geometric forms, consisting of one, two, and three bars placed across an upright stroke; and it needs no argument to show that these are the originals of the letters in the other columns.

Next we have *Gimel*, *Vau* and *He*, consisting of the same elements; except that the one, two, and three bars are attached to the left of the upright stroke instead of crossing it. *Vau* and *He* give rise to two fresh letters by a slight differentiation. *Vau* standing for *w*, the second liquid *y* was denoted by the addition of a stroke to the *right*, thus , and the new character is the well known *Yod*. *He* also becomes *Cheth* , as already indicated. The digamma *Vau* has not yet been met with in Semitic epigraphs, being there replaced by , which may be explained as a modification of it; but the digamma is so constant and persistent in the Hellenic scripts, as to render it highly probable that it was a primitive form, independently of its accounting so satisfactorily for the origin of the Semitic *Yod*.

The next letter *Caph* consists of two bars a different angles, attached to the left of the vertical stroke.

Aleph is the complementary reverse of *Caph*. The later forms of this letter are mere superficial variants. In all of them we have the same three elementary strokes, but the vertical one occupies slightly different positions.

Lamed has a diagonal stroke at the foot of the vertical line, turning to the right. There are Greek variants with the right-hand stroke at the *top*, and in the *middle* of the letter.

As the geometric material was now becoming exhausted, a zigzag instead of a horizontal line is now attached to the vertical, forming *Mem*.

The zigzag halved provides *Nun*.

The zigzag by itself, without the supporting line, provides a character for *Shin*, extremely constant in the Semitic examples. The Greeks seem to have placed it on its side.

Shin reversed M was probably the earliest form of *Ṣade*, because this particular character is used for *s* in the oldest Greek inscriptions. Confusion with M eventually caused its abandonment. After the Alphabet had been imparted to the Greeks, the Semites developed a new form W from *Shin* W, as already mentioned.

A fresh type now comes forward in the closed triangle ◁ *i.e.*, *Daleth*.

The triangle being placed to the left of a vertical line, we have *Resh*.

Two triangles superposed form ⊰, the prevailing form of the Greek *Beta*. By the omission of a single stroke was evolved the Semitic *Beth* ⊿, usually with a rounded angle ⊿. So that *Beth* is a simplification of *Beta*. (For some reason *Beth* was not accepted by one or two of the Greek dialects; and therefore we meet with the Corinthian ⊓, which is really two *pi's* superposed, thus $\begin{smallmatrix}\text{II}\\ \text{II}\end{smallmatrix}$.)

A circle is the essential part of the final group. By itself O is *Ain*. To the left of an upright stroke it is *Pe*, though this particular form of the letter is extremely rare; because, by omitting to complete the circle, a very characteristic sign was produced in ⅂. A stroke through the middle of the circle made it *Koph*. And, as remarked by Dr. Lidzbarsky, a *Tau* + within the circle furnished *Teth*.

Thus the whole of the twenty-two letters of the alphabet may be resolved into simple geometric signs. Exactly similar signs are found in use almost everywhere as marks of ownership upon

animals, etc.; and also as masons' marks and potters marks. In fact, it may be said that they are the combinations that would occur most readily to anyone who set to work to form a series of characters for any purpose. The extreme artificiality of the series *Tau*, *Zain*, and *Samech*; *Gimel*, *Vau* and *He*; *Daleth*, *Resh* and *Beth*; *Ain*, *Pe*, *Koph* and *Teth*; renders it almost positive that the whole alphabet was a deliberate invention, carried out wlth some degree of thought and care; and that it was not a mere haphazard selection from some pre-existing source.

II. The Baal-Lebanon Alphabet.

This extremely archaic example of Phœnician strongly supports the suggested prototype. There are three *Alephs* in the inscription; and although they are not exactly alike, yet they appear to show that the familiar bull's head form ᴋ was not yet in common use. *Sade* has its normal Semitic shape; and so has *Beth*. The oval *Ain* is quite consistent with the prototypal form, and needs no remark.

III. The Earliest Greek Alphabet.

This column exhibits the lettering of the Thera inscriptions, completed by the addition of *Zain*, *Samech*, *Shin* and *Beth* from other early sources, as these four characters have not been met with at Thera. It will be observed that the *Vau* has its Semitic form,[1] which must, therefore, have been developed at the time the alphabet was adopted by the Greeks, not to mention that it was the basis of the later Υ or ὑ ψιλόν. But the ϝαῦ, or *digamma* ϝ is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and is consequently placed beside the actual Thera form. The *Yod* has lost one of its strokes; otherwise it is cognate with the Semitic letter. *Aleph* has had the vertical stroke shifted to the extreme right. *Mem* has lost its first stroke, although in the contemporary epigraphs of Melos the letter has its complete Semitic form. Like *Mem*, *Shin* appears to have lost its initial stroke, and it has been turned upon its side; the well known later Greek form is ϛ *Sigma*.

[1] In tables of Greek alphabets this character (as *u psilon*) is usually given as Υ; but the *facsimile* in Canon Taylor's *History of the Alphabet* (Vol. II, p. 30, fig. No. 1) shows the distinctly Semitic form.

IV. The Zenjerli Alphabet.

This is figured after Lidzbarsky. It calls for little additional comment. The curved *Lamed* and *Pe* are clearly to be taken as cursive modifications of the more angular forms; and if the inclination of the other characters be corrected, there is little practical deviation from the Baal Lebanon type.

V. The Formello Alphabet.

This important *abecedarium* demonstrates that the Greeks took the twenty-two Semitic letters to Italy in their proper alphabetic order.[2] Upon the whole, the characters present few deviations from the proposed proto-alphabet, except in the rounding of some of the angles. The *Samech* probably obtained its peculiar appearance from being bracketed between two upright strokes in the *abecedaria* |𐤎|, because it was an unused sign; and thus the side strokes became incorporated with the letter. The *Yod* was soon reduced to a single vertical line in the Hellenic alphabets. This evolution did not take place in the Semitic, because the vertical | was employed to mark the division of sentences, as in the Mesha Stele. In very early Greek inscriptions | is a word-divider, just as it is in Cypriote and Himyaritic.

VI. Alphabet from Assyrian Lion-Weights.

This list is, of course, an eclectic one, as the weights exhibit some varieties in their style of writing. The *Vau* has its upper member tilted 𐤅, showing the origin of the Jewish cruciform *Vau* 𐤅.[3] It may be argued that the *Aleph* here shown is accidental; but the form of the letter upon the Baal-Lebanon bowl encourages the opinion that it is a survival. The *Pe* is figured from a weight in the British Museum, bearing the legend פרש. The shape of the letter is so unusual that, until M. Clermont-Ganneau demonstrated the true reading, it was taken for a ק;[4] but this also

[2] In this table the characters have been reversed for comparison; and as the original *Samech* and *Koph* are obviously defective, they have been completed.

[3] *P.S.B.A.*, XIX, p. 176.

[4] "Mané, Thécel, Pharès, et le Festin de Balthasar," par M. Clermont-Ganneau. *Journal Asiatique* (1886).

	Proto-Alphabet.	Baal Lebanon 900 B.C.	Earliest Greek. 800 B.C.	Zenjerli. 800 B.C.	Formello. 700 B.C.	Lion Weights. 700 B.C.
Tau						
Zain						
Samech						
Gimel						
Vau						
Yod						
He						
Cheth						
Caph						
Aleph						
Lamed						
Mem						
Nun						
Shin						
Sade						
Daleth						
Resh						
Beth						
Ain						
Pe						
Koph						
Teth						

may be claimed as a probable survival of a very primitive form, such as is postulated in Col. 1 for the origin of the letter.

With the above remarks the table of alphabets may be left to the consideration of palæographers. It certainly seems to the writer that this view of the origin of the alphabetic characters from geometric signs presents fewer difficulties than any of the theories hitherto propounded, and that it is more consistent with the early variations.

As has been the case in later alphabets, it is probable that the *names* of the Semitic letters were merely mnemonic devices, an expressive word beginning with the desired sound being selected for each example. Some of the names (such as *Aleph*, *Beth*, *Yod*, *Mem*, *Ain*, *Pe*, *Shin*) were words denoting very familiar objects, and therefore in common use; and if we only knew what Semitic dialect it was that furnished these names, it would probably be found that in every case the most familiar word was selected that began with the desired consonant.

TWO COPTIC PAPYRI FROM ANTINOE.

By W. E. Crum.

I.

Among the results of the recent German search in the so-called *Qubbah* at Damascus was a leaf of S. John's Gospel in Greek, on either side of which a couple of verses are written, with, below them, a single phrase of an 'edifying' character, entitled ἑρμηνεία.[1]

In 1902 M. Gayet's excavations at Antinoe produced fragments of a papyrus book showing a Coptic (Sa'idic) text of exactly the same character.[2] M. de Ricci, whom I have to thank for kindly putting his excellent copies of this and the following MS. at any disposal, describes the script as "a handsome, literary Greek uncial" and regards it as of the 6th century. There are 12 fragments. The complete page would measure about 17 × 13 cm. and would have some 17–20 lines of text, with a blank of varying extent below them.

The texts partially preserved—for not a line is perfect—are here enumerated and the ἑρμηνεία, which in each case followed them, printed in full:

John iii, 32–34.	ⲁⲡⲟⲧⲁ[
	αποταξ[
iii, 36.	ⲉⲧ]ⲃⲉⲟⲩϯⲧⲱⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲓⲥⲉ.
	]ου μη ερισης.
ix, 22, 23.	ⲙⲙⲏⲥⲁ ϩⲉⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ϥⲓⲱⲟⲛⲉ
	μετα ημερας γινεται.
ix, 24, 25.	]ⲉ . ⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲟⲥⲁⲟⲕⲓ
	ⲉⲣⲟ[ϥ]ⲁⲙ.
	]α απροσδοκ[ητ]ος.

[1] Von Soden in Berlin *Sitzungsb.* 1903, 829.

[2] Mentioned in *Notice relat. aux obj. recueil. à Antinoé, 1901–02* (Leroux, 1902), p. 25.

John x, 7–9. [*lost*]

x, 11. ⲙⲡⲣⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲩϣⲁ[ⲭⲉ ⲛϣⲙ]ⲙⲟ.
[*ου μη*] *πιστευσης αλλοτρ*[*ιῳ λογῳ*].

xii, 19–23. ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛ[ ]ⲁ̣ⲣⲉ ⲁ̣ⲩⲱ[
[*Greek lost*]

xii, 24–26.]ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ
]*ωφελιμ*[ ]*σοι γινετ*[*αι*

xvi, 22. ⲛⲧⲁⲩϯ ⲡⲉⲓϩ[ⲱⲃ] ⲛⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲛ[
το πραγμα τ[*ουτο ου*] *δεδοτα*[*ι*

xvi, 23–25.]ⲛ̣ⲉ ⲛⲥⲱϥ ϥⲛⲁ[ ]ⲕ.
γι]*ν̣εται σοι.*

xvii, 3, 4–7. ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲉⲣⲟ ϥ ϥⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ.
το επιθυμις γιν[*εται σοι.*]

xviii, 28–30. [*lost*]

xviii, 31. ⲧ̣]ⲉⲓⲇⲓⲕⲓ ⲛⲁⲱⲥⲕ ⲉⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.
]*τελι η δικη σου χρονιζει.*

xxi, 15, 16. ϩⲁⲣ]ⲉϩ ⲉⲛϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲧϣⲟ[ ] ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ
[*Greek lost*]

xxi, 17. ϩⲁⲣ]ⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏ[ⲣⲓⲟⲛ.]
φ]*υλαξον το μυστ*[*ηριον*]

It will be seen that, though a few of the *ἑρμηνείαι* (*e.g.* on x, 11) may have a relation to the verses they follow, most of them—so far at least as we can judge by what are presumably their initial words—have no apparent bearing thereon, although their designation would lead us to expect some kind of comment on the Gospel texts. With the exception of the Damascus fragment, I have failed to find any instance of the word *ἑρμηνεία* liturgically employed outside Egypt. There it was in common use, so long as the Sa'idic liturgies were current; the subsequent Bohairic books do not appear to know the word. In the Sa'idic Directories of lessons &c. it designates a verse from the Psalter, the 'response' to which is called ⲟⲩⲱ[ϩⲙ].[3] These two verses—primarily quite unconnected—sometimes bear upon the lesson which, in most cases, they immediately

[3] *E.g. Recueil* vii, 144; Leyden, *MSS. coptes*, pp. 144 ff., 150 ff., 164 ff., &c., Brit. Mus. Or. 3580 A 1, 3 and 4.

follow;[4] but as often their appropriateness is not evident. There are special ἑρμηνείαι for use on saints' days and other solemnities.[5] Generally they appear to enter into the anaphoral service.[6] They are ordered to be said by the ⲥⲁϩ (διδάσκαλος)[7] or presbyter,[8] immediately after the homily.[9] They seem to be invariably—excepting in the present instance—taken from the Psalter.[10]

II.

The second of M. Gayet's Coptic papyri consists of one leaf only, of unusual form (about 27 × 13·5 cm.), intact for the most part, and paged ⲁ and ⲉ̅. On each side are 32 or 33 lines of text, written in a single column of 'rather careless, upright uncials,' says M. de Ricci, who also sends 'an approximate alphabet,' whence it is evident that the MS. is of no little antiquity. Of published facsimiles I would compare it with that of the Rainer Psalter, assigned by Krall to the 6th century, though the letters are more angular than there.[11]

The Sa'idic text is apparently from a Homily or Encomium either upon Judith or the Virgin. At any rate, in these pages the former's exploits are described and a comparison instituted between her and Mary. I have failed to find the passage in the (indexed) works of the principal fathers current in Egypt; but I hope some one will succeed in identifying it. There being little of linguistic importance in the text,[12] I give only a translation.

P. 4. ▨his gir]dle (ζώ]νη?) and she bound it upon her. She stretched forth[13] the scabbard[14] of his sword that was bound[15] in his (?) girdle (ζώνη) and drew out his own weapon,[16] even as David

[4] Leyden *MSS.* p. 150.

[5] *Ib.* 164, Br. Mus. Or. 3580 A 4; for the visit of dignitaries to the monastery, Leyd. 157; at the inundation, *ib.* 154.

[6] After the heading ⲡⲏⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲉ, Leyd. 144 ff.

[7] Leyd. 150. *V.* these *Proceedings* XXI, 249.

[8] Leyd. 153. [9] Καθήγησις.

[10] *Cf.* the list of them following a lesson from Joshua, Ciasca pl. XII (=Zoega, p. 176).

[11] *Führer Rainer* (1894), Taf. vii. This type may be contemporary with such as Zoega, cl. IV, 13–16.

[12] Confusion of ⲃ and ϥ, ⲉ and ⲏ; otherwise pure Sai'dic.

[13] ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧⲏ. [14] ⲕ]ⲟⲓⲁϩ.

[15] ⲟⲩⲟⲁⲭ. [16] Copy ⲥⲟⲧϩϥ.

before Goliath. She raised his (?) sword on high and smote him. She took his head and with his head gat she the victory, bringing it (*sc.* the head) before her people (λαός). All these (things) befell in one night. The sun stood still in his [*adjective*] places (τόπος *pl.*); the light remained without rising; the stars turned back, they changed[17] their course (δρόμος), until they should grant[18] unto this holy woman her request (αἴτημα). For (γάρ) she went and cried aloud at the gates (πύλη) of her (?) city (πόλις), saying, 'Open unto me the gates (π.) of your (*or* our) city (πο.). God is with me.' And when the people (??) had heard and seen what had befallen, they glorified God for the wisdom (σοφία) and the prudence and the thought and the strength of this woman, who hath become renowned even until now. But (δέ) thou, O Virgin (παρθένος), art become greater than she. She was a woman that fought with a man, even (κἄν) if the contest (ἀγών) was famous[19] because of the power of a woman that overthrew[20] a mighty champion (δυνατός); yet (ἀλλά) didst thou, O Virgin (παρ.) Mary, fight without sword or spear[21] (?), and didst cast down the enemy. Judith saved a city (π.) and those of her race (γένος); but (δέ) thou didst save the whole world (κόσμος). Judith slew a man; but (δέ) thou didst slay the devil (διάβ.) Many a fast (νηστία) was kept in [ ] Israel and [ ] vigil[22] (??) [p. 5]; but (δέ) thy fast (νη.)[23] went up to the Father; it (*sc.* the fast) ceased not to cast itself down before his throne (θρόνος), until he raised up his own son, sending him to save the world (κ.) through him.[24] But (ἀλλά) he himself came in [;] for (γάρ) [he] the depths;[25] he brake the [gates (πύ.)] of iron and the brazen doors of Hell.[26] He brought up the souls (ψ.) in safety (?) and gave them for an honour[27] unto his Father [Ma]ry the Virgin (παρ.) at all times and all seasons (χρόνος). He that came forth from thy nature (φύσις), being pure, spoiled not thy virginity (παρθενία); he caused not pain unto thy nature (φ.) as he came

[17] ⲕⲉϥ.

[18] Or passive.

[19] ⲡⲣⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

[20] ⲧⲁⲩⲉ.

[21] . . . ⲉϩ.

[22] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ . . . ⲩ̣ϣⲉ . . . . ⲓ̣ⲥ̣.

[23] 'She went up' possible, but seems less likely. So too 'She ceased not &c.'

[24] ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲉⲛⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ . . . . .

[25] ⲛⲏⲟⲩⲏ.

[26] ⲁⲙⲏⲧⲉ.

[27] ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲟ.

forth; he loosed not thy power of bearing,[28] neither (οὐδέ?) caused he anguish unto thy loins,[29] nor (οὐδέ) tears unto thine eyes, neither (οὐδέ) pains of travail. For (γάρ) the Father and the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα) were by thee. When thou didst bear thy son, the angels (ἄγγελος) served (ὑπηρετεῖν), the Cherubim shaded[30] thy face with their wings, the whole company that is in heaven and every luminary (φωστήρ) stood still and beheld (θεωρσῖν) thy child-bearing; for (γάρ) they all did sing (ὑμνεύειν) in that hour, giving glory unto thy son and thee. Shepherds proclaimed (it) (κηρύσσειν), kings stood by, rulers (ἄρχων) kept watch, the whole world (οἰκουμένη) came unto one place, that they might enrol themselves in[31] the kingdom of thy son. Thou didst bear him and layedst him in a manger and didst wrap him in wrappings.[32] Speechless[33] beasts knew him and bare witness as they [ ] him [

[28] ⲙⲏϥϯ ⲛⲟⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲛⲟⲩⲙⲏⲥⲉ. Perhaps 'thy organs of bearing.' *Cf.* ⲙⲏⲥⲉ (fem.), Rossi, *Papiri* II. ii, 57, 58. *Cf.* such expressions as Cyril. Alex., *De Incarn. Dom.* (P.G. 75, 1460 D), οὐ λύσας τῇ συλλήψει τὴν παρθενικὴν ζώνην, οὐ τῇ γεννήσει διαῤῥήξας; Proclus (P.G. 65, 692 A) παρθενίας δὲ κλεῖθρα οὐ διέῤῥηξεν; also *ib.* 709 C, and Rossi *l.c.* II. ii, 67 *infra*.

[29] ⲕⲉϩⲧⲉ.

[30] Copy ⲉⲟⲃⲙ ⲉⲡⲟⲩϩⲟ; I read ϩⲟⲃⲉ ⲙ-.

[31] ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲉϩⲁⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲁ-. So text of Crawford (Rylands) MS. quoted by F. Robinson, *Ap. Gosp.* 196. *Cf. Can. Athanas.* § 62.

[32] ⲧⲟⲉⲓⲥ.

[33] For ἄλογος.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C., on Wednesday, June 8th, 1904, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Prof. A. H. Sayce, *President.*—**"Notes on Recent discoveries in Egypt."**

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1904.

Fifth Meeting, June 8th, 1904.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D., &c.* (*President*),

IN THE CHAIR.

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the donors:—

From the Institut Égyptien.—"A Guide to the Cairo Museum."

From the Royal Society of Literature.—"Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company," by the Rev. H. G. Rosedale, *M.A.*, *D.D.*, &c.

From the Author, Prof. J. Capart.—"Les débuts de l'Art en Égypte."

From W. L. Nash.—"Recueil d'Alphabets pour servir a la lecture et a l'interprétation des écritures cunéiformes" par Prof. M. J. Menant.

From the Author, Wilhelm Schencke.—"Amon-Re."

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society:—

Mrs. Gardner, Engalee, East Grinstead.

Mrs. Pierson, The Haven, Saltwood, Kent.

The following Paper was read:—

Prof. A. H. SAYCE, *President*.—"Notes on recent discoveries in Egypt."

Mr. Hall added some further account of the excavations made by Prof. Naville and himself at Der el Baḥari.

Thanks were returned to Prof. Sayce for his communication.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, *D.C.L., &c.*

(*Continued, and concluded, from page* 124.)

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.

Adoration to Osiris, giving him praise, bowing down before Unneferu, falling on one's face before the lord of Ta-tsert, and exalting him who is on his sand.

I have come to thee, son of Nut, Osiris, prince everlasting. I am in the train of Thoth, I rejoice in all that he has done.

He brings thee sweet breezes to thy nose, the breath of life to thy beautiful face, the wind coming out of Tmu to thy nostrils, lord of Ta-tsert.

He grants that the morning light shine on thy body, he illuminateth thy path with his rays, he removeth all that is wrong in thy body by the virtue of his speech. He appeases the two gods, the two brothers, he drives away anger and quarrel, and he made the two Rehti, the two sisters, gracious unto thee, so that the two earths may be at peace before thee; he removes the displeasure out of their hearts, so that one embraces the other.

Thy son Horus is triumphant before the whole cycle of gods; he has received the royal power on the earth, and his dominion over the whole earth; the throne of Seb has been imparted to him; the high dignity of Tmu is kept in record as his possession, engraved on a brick of iron, as was ordered by thy father Tatunen in his sanctuary.

(This god) giveth thee to join him on the firmament, when he raiseth water on the mountains in order to make growth come forth on the mountains, and all growth spring out of the earth; he brings forth all products on water and on land.

Thou hast handed over to thy son Horus all the gods of Heaven and the gods of earth, they are his servants at his gates, and all that he has commanded is before them; they fulfil it at once; thy heart is satisfied, thy heart, lord of the gods, is overjoyed because of it.

Egypt and the desert are at peace; they are the vassals of thy

royal diadem; the temples and the cities are well ordered in their places; the cities and the provinces are his possession according to their names, they bring to thee tributes of offerings, and they make libations to thy name for ever. Thou art called upon, and thy name is praised, thy *ka* is gratified by funereal meals.

The Glorified who are in thy following sprinkle water on thy food by the side of the dead souls in this land. All thy thoughts are excellent like those of him who was at the beginning.

Be crowned, son of Nut, as the Inviolate god is crowned; thou art living, thou art revived, thou art renewed, thou art perfect. Thy father Rā giveth health to all thy limbs, thy divine circle giveth thee praise. Isis is with thee, she will never leave thee before all thy enemies are struck down.

All the lands praise thy beauties like Rā when he rises every morning; thou art crowned like him who is high on his pedestal, thy beauties are exalted, thy strides are lengthened; thou hast received the royal power of Seb, thy father who creates thy beauties; thy mother gave existence to thy limbs, Nut who bare the gods bare thee to be the chief of the five gods. The white crown of the South is placed on thy head; thou seizest the hook and the flail. When thou wast still in the womb, before thou didst appear on earth, thou wast crowned to be lord of the two earths, the *atef* crown of Rā was on thy head.

The gods come to thee, bowing down, the fear of thee possesses them; they see thee with the might of Rā, and the valour of thy majesty fills their hearts.

Life is with thee, abundance is attached to thee. I offer Maat before thee; grant that I may be in the train of thy majesty like one who is on the earth. May thy name be called upon, may it be found among the just ones.

I have come to the city of this god, to the city of god, to the region of old time; my soul, my *ka*, my Chu are in this land. The god of it is the lord of justice, the lord of abundance, the great and the venerable one, who is towed through the whole earth; he journeys to the South in his boat, and to the North driven by the winds, and his oars, to be entertained with gifts according to the command of the god, the lord of peace therein, who left me free of care. The god therein rejoices in him who practices justice; he grants an old age to him who has done so; he is beloved, and the end of it is a good burial and a sepulture in Ta-tsert.

I have come to thee; my hands bring Maat, my heart does not contain any falsehood, I offer thee Maat before thy face, I know her; I swear by her; I have done no evil thing on earth; I have never wronged a man of his property. I am Thoth, the perfect and pure writer; my hands are pure. I have put away all evil things; I write justice and I hate evil; for I am the writing-reed of the Inviolate god, who utters his words, and whose words are written in the two earths.

I am Thoth, the lord of justice, who giveth victory to him who is injured and who taketh the defense of the oppressed, of him who is wronged in his property. I have dispelled darkness; I have driven away the storm; I have given air to Unneferu, and the sweet breezes of the North when he comes out of the womb of his mother. I have given him to enter into the mysterious cave where is revived the heart of the god whose heart is motionless, Unneferu, the son of Nut, the victorious.

NOTE.

This hymn is taken from the papyrus of Unneferu, in London. See note 1 in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.

Chapter of being near Osiris.

There is not much more than the vignette left. Only two or three words remain. They are taken from a papyrus in Paris.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.

Giving praise to Osiris, falling on the earth before the lord of eternity; propitiating the god with what he loves, speaking the truth, the lord of which is not known.

Hail to thee, venerable god, great and beneficent prince of eternity, in his abode in the Sektit boat. Acclamations are given him in the sky and on earth; he is exalted by the past and present.

Great is the fear he inspires in the hearts of men, of the Glorified and of the dead. His soul was given him in Tattu, his might in Heracleopolis, his image in Heliopolis, and his power over forms (1) in the double sanctuary.

I have come to thee; my heart holds right, my heart contains no falsehood. Give me to be among the living, to navigate up and down in thy train.

NOTES.

I have given No. 185 to a hymn to Osiris, with which many papyri begin, but which occasionally comes just before the representation of the cow in the West. There seems to have been no canonical text for that hymn, in which the writer was left to follow his imagination.

The hymn here given is one of the most complete. It is taken from the papyrus of Sutimes in Paris.

The vignette represents always Osiris in a shrine, with worshippers before him.

1. , litt., "his greatness of forms." I suppose it means his power of taking all the forms he likes.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.

Adoration to Hathor, the lady of the West, falling down before Mehurit.

I have come to thee, to see thy beauties, give me to be at the head of thy followers and among thy divine attendants.

NOTES.

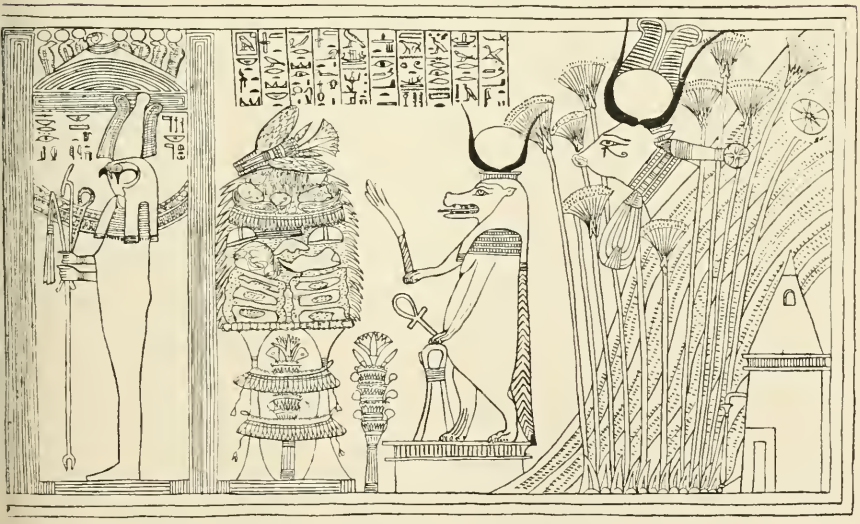
A great many papyri end with a picture representing Hathor of the West, in company of the goddess Thueris coming out of the mountain where the burial is to take place. The text, which is generally very corrupt, as if the writer had neglected the words for the picture, is an adoration to Hathor, which varies in its form.

The text here translated is taken from a papyrus at Leyden.

The vignette is taken from the papyrus of Ani.

PLATE LXI. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER CLXXXV, *P. d.*



CHAPTER CLXXXVI. **Papyrus of Ani.**

A LATIN DEED OF MANUMISSION (A.D. 221) IN THE COLLECTION OF THE RIGHT HON. LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY, *F.S.A.*

BY SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

(*Continued from page* 152.)

COMMENTARY.

L. 1. *Marcus Aurelius Ammonion* (Μαρκος Αυρηλιος Αμμωνιων) had not been long a Roman citizen when he signed the manumission. He gives his father's name as *Lupergos*, and his grandfather's name as *Sarapion*, both being Græco-Egyptian *cognomina*, without the Roman *prænomen* and *nomen*, Marcus Aurelius.[8] It is evident that he became a Roman citizen in the summer of A.D. 212, when the emperor Caracalla gave the right of city to all the inhabitants of the Roman empire (Ulpianus, *Digesta* I, 5, 17): *In Orbe Romano qui sunt, ex Constitutione Imperatoris Antonini cives Romani effecti sunt.* It is highly probable that the right of city was not given, even at that date, without some restriction.[9] M. Paul Meyer has written a very able chapter on *Aegypten und die Bürgerrechtsverleihung durch Caracalla*, in his book on the Greek and Roman army in Egypt.[10] He has proved that only a part of the population, chiefly priests, functionaries and citizens of certain towns received the right of city. I must refer readers to his lengthy and well-supported argumentation.

Ll. 1–2. *Ammonion* is not a common name (Oxy. 118, 520; Amh. 122, 124, etc.), but *Sarapion* is exceedingly frequent. As for

[8] An Egyptian would not have minded repeating three times the name *Aurelius*. See, for instance, the following inscription published by Milne, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XXI (1901), p. 283: Μαρκωι Αυρηλιωι Μικκαλωνι, etc., υιωι Μαρκου Αυρηλιου Θεοφιλου, etc., υιωνω Μαρκου Αυρηλιου Ευδαιμονος, etc., θυγατριδω Μαρκου Αυρηλιου Ιερακος.

[9] See Girard, *Manuel élémentaire de droit romain*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1901, 8°), p. 114, note 3.

[10] Paul M. Meyer, *Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1900, 8°), pp. 136–144.

Lupergos, I know no other example of it, so I am afraid I may have deciphered it incorrectly (perhaps for *Lupercus*).

L. 2. *ex M . . . eterheutæ.* The three first letters are very doubtful, but the reading of the others seems clear. I can make no sense out of this word, which was apparently omitted in the inner copy and has no equivalent in the Greek part of the document.

L. 3. *ab Hermupoli maiore antiqua et splendida.* Hermupolis *maior* (Ashmunein), appears to have been an important city in the Roman and early Byzantine period. Great quantities of Greek papyri have been found there: some of the finest are in the Amherst Collection, others being in Leipzig and Berlin. The epithets *antiqua et splendida* are unusual. The ordinary Greek qualificative is η λαμπροτατη, "clarissima," which may hardly be considered as an equivalent even for *splendida*. An Amherst papyrus (n. 100), written between A.D. 198 and 211, fortunately gives us the Greek equivalent for these Latin epithets; it begins: Ερμης Διογενους κοσμετευσαντ[ος] Ερμο[υπο]λεως της μεγαλης αρχαιας[11] και [λαμ]πρ[α]ς, according to Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's excellent publication. The Greek formula translated into Latin gives exactly, *Hermupoleos maioris antiquæ et splendidæ.*

Professor G. Lumbroso kindly refers me to a Latin inscription from Alexandria (*C.I.L.*, III, n. 6587) which calls that city *splendida urbs.*

L. 4. *Helene* is a Greek name often found in papyri, and, as most mythological names, frequently given to slaves.

L. 4. *Ancillam suam uernam*, δουλην μου οικογενη, "his house-born female slave." Roman law considered as a slave by right every child of a female slave, no matter who the father may have been: *ex ancilla et libero iure gentium seruus nascitur* (Gaius I, 82).

L. 5. *annorum circiter xxxiiii*, ως ετων λδ, "about thirty-four years old." The words *circiter* and ως by no means imply that the age was doubtful, no more than the Latin formula πλεον ελαττον, *plus minus*, more or less, so frequent on christian tombstones.

L. 6. *inter amicos manumisit*, μεταξυ φιλων ηλευθερωσα, "has set free between friends." An interesting formula already known by several judicial texts, which throw some light on its importance in

[11] The town of Herakleopolis (*Ahnas*) was known as αρχαια και θεοφιλος BGU. 924; CPR. 205).

our document. The following passage of the Pseudo-Dositheus[12] (written about A.D. 200 or 210), gives an interesting historical account of the *manumissio inter amicos.*

4. Primum ergo uideamus, quale est quod dicitur *de* eis, qui inter amicos *olim* manumittebantur, non esse liberos, sed domini uoluntate in libertate morari et tantum seruiendi metu dimitti.

5. Antea enim una libertas erat et *manumissio* fiebat uindicta, uel testamento, uel censu et ciuitas Romana competebat manumissis: quæ appelatur iusta *manumissio.* Hi autem qui domini uoluntate in libertate erant, manebant serui; *sed si* manumissores ausi erant in seruitutem denuo eos per uim ducere, interueniebat praetor et non patiebatur manumissum seruire. Omnia tamen quasi seruus adquirebat manumissori, uel*ut* si quid stipulabatur *uel* mancup*io* accipiebat uel ex quacumque causa alia adquisierat, domini hoc faciebat, id est manumissi omnia bona ad patronum pertinebant.

6. Sed nunc habent propriam libertatem, qui inter amicos manumittuntur, et fiunt Latini Iuniani, quoniam lex Iunia quæ libertatem eis dedit, exaequauit eos Latinis colonariis qui cum essent ciues Romani [liberti] nomen suum in coloniam dedissent.[13]

7. In his qui inter amicos manumittuntur uoluntas domini spectatur; lex enim Iu*n*ia eos fieri Latinos iubet, quos dominus liberos esse uoluit. *Quod* cum ita *sit*, debet uoluntatem manumitten*di* habere dominus: unde si per uim coactus uerbi gratia ab aliquo populo uel a singulis hominibus manumiserit, non uenit seruus ad libertatem, quia non intellegitur uoluisse qui coactus est . . .

10. Communis seruus ab uno *ex sociis* manumissus, neque ad libertatem peruenit et alterius domini totus fit seruus iure a*d*crescen*di*. Sed inter amicos seruus ab uno ex sociis manumissus utri*us*que domin*i* seruus manebit; ius *enim* adcresc*endi* in hac manumissione *non* uers*a*tur . . .[14]

[12] A very corrupt text, published by Boecking, Huschke, Krüger and others. I quote it from Girard, *Textes*, 3rd edition, p. 477.

[13] *Cf.* Ulpianus, *Liber Singularis Regularum*, 1, 10: Hodie autem ipse iure liberi sunt ex lege Iunia, qua lege Latini *fi*unt nominati*m* inter amicos manumissi.

[14] *Cf.* Ulpianus, *l.c.* 1, 18: Communem seruum unus ex dominis manumittendo partem suam *a*mittit, eaque adcrescit socio; maxime si eo modo manumisserit, quo, si proprium haberet, ciuem Romanum facturus esset; nam si inter amicos eum manumisser*it*, plerisque placet eum nihil egisse. (*Cf.* also Paulus, *Sent.* IV. 12, 1.)

13. Minor uiginti annorum manumittere nec uindicta potest nec testamento, itaque nec Latinum facere potest; *sed* tantum apud consilium *causa probata* potest manumittere seruum suum.

14. Is autem qui manumittitur inter amicos, quotcunique est annorum, Latinus fit, et tantum ei hoc prodest manumissio, ut postea iterum manumitti possit *u*indicta uel testamento et ciuis Romano fieri.

15. Mulier sine tutoris auctoritate *inter amicos manumittere non potest*, nisi ius liberorum habeat; tunc enim *et* uindicta sine tutore potest manumittere.

§ 13 is given also by Gaius (I, 41) under a more complete form specifying that the *manumissio* shall be *inter amicos*:

Et quamuis Latinum facere uelit minor xx annorum dominus, tamen nihilo minus debet apu*d* consilium causam pro*b*are, et ita postea inter amicos manumittere.

The *manumissio inter amicos* is mentioned further on by Gaius (I, 44):

Licet *i*is qui uindicta aut censu aut inter amicos manumittunt, totam familiam liberare, scilicet si alia causa non impediat libertatem.

And by Iulius Paulus, *Sent.* IV, 12, 2:

Mutus et surdus seruum uindicta liberare non possunt: inter amicos tamen et per epistulam manumittere non prohibentur. Ut autem ad iustam libertatem peruenire possit, condicione uenditionis excipi potest.

And in the *Fragmenta Vaticana* (§ 261):

Peculium uindicta manumisso, uel inter amicos, si non adimatur, donari uidetur.

An important constitution of Justinian, *de Latina libertate tollenda et per certos modos in civitatem Romanam transfusa* (*Codex Iust.*, VII, 6) proves that although the consequence was quite different, the form of the act had persisted down to A.D. 531, for we read in § 2 of this law:

Sed et si quis inter amicos libertatem dare suo seruo maluerit, licebit ei quinque similiter testibus adhibitis suam explanare uoluntatem et quod liberum eum esse uoluit dicere: et hoc siue inter acta fuerit testificatus siue testium uoces attestationem sunt amplexæ et litteras tam publicarum personarum quam testium habeant, simili modo serui ad ciuitatem producantur Romanam quasi ex codicillis similiter libertatem adipiscentes.

Of course Helene became a Junian Latin, and not a Roman citizen.

It is not easy to determine what is the exact sense of *inter amicos;* the expression is apparently used to indicate a private act, written out without the intervention of any public official or functionary, but before witnesses.[15] The word *amicus* itself becomes nearly synonymous with *testis*, witness, as remarked by Dirksen in his *Manuale latinitatis fontium iuris ciuilis Romanorum* (Berlin, 1837, 4°), p. 62.[16] Justinian seems to consider an act *inter amicos* as nearer to a secret act than to a public one (*Codex Iust.* VII, 6, 10): "Si enim ipse tali adfectione fuerat accensus, ut etiam filium seruum suum nominare non indignetur, et hoc non secreto neque inter solos amicos, sed etiam actis interuenientibus et quasi in iudicii figura nominauerit . . ." and such appears to have been already the case when in A.D. 472 Emperor Leo (*Cod. Iust.* VIII, 17, 11) says that: Scripturas quæ sæpe adsolent a quibusdam secrete fieri, interuenientibus amicis nec ne, transigendi uel paciscendi causa seu fenerandi uel societatis cœundæ gratia seu de aliis quibuscumque causis uel contractibus conficiuntur, quæ idiochira Græce appellantur, siue tota series eorum manu contrahentium uel notarii aut alterius cuius libet scripta fuerit, ipsorum tamen habeant subscriptiones, siue testibus adhibitis siue non, licet condicionales sint, quos uulgo tabularios appellant, siue non quasi publice scriptas, si personalis actio exerceatur, suum robur habere decernimus.

Students of Roman law will be glad to have in the Amherst tablets the only specimen preserved of an act *inter amicos.*

L. 6. *liberamque esse iussit*, and has bidden her to be free. The word *iubere* is here used to mark the well-defined *uoluntas*, stated as necessary by the above-quoted passage of Pseudo-Dositheus (§ 7). The word *iubeo* is particularly appropriately used in wills, such as the *Testamentum Dasumii*, in which we even read the sentence [*omn*]*es quos liberos esse iussi.*[17]

L. 7. *et accepit pro libertate eius*, και εσχον υπερ λυτρων αυτης, and has received for her freedom. It may be remarked that *libertas* here means rather *liberatio a domini potestate* than *conditio liberi hominis.*[18] The *Digesta* mention sums paid *pro libertate*, for instance,

[15] See Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, Vol. I (3rd edition), p. 308, note 2 = *Droit public* I, p. 352, note 3.

[16] See also Kübler and Helm, *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae*, fasc. II (Berolini, 1898, 4°), col. 414.

[17] Girard, *Textes*, 3rd edition, p. 769, l. 54; l. 41, *iubeo*, would perhaps be a better restitution than *uolo.*

[18] Dirksen, *Manuale*, pp. 540–541.

XVI, 1, 3, 33: *Eleganter apud Iulianum quæritur, si pecuniam seruus apud me deposuit ita, ut domino pro libertate eius dem, egoque dedero, an tenear depositi? Et libro tertio decimo Digestorum scribit, si quidem sic dedero quasi ad hoc penes me depositam teque certiorauero, non competere tibi depositi actionem, quia sciens recepisti, careo igitur dolo: si uero quasi meam pro libertate eius numerauero, tenebor.*[19]

L. 8. *ab Aurelio Aletis Inaroutis*, *απο Αυρηλιου Αλητος Ιναροουτος* (and l. 21 *Αυρηλιος Αλης Ιναρωουτος*). This person also doubtless became a Roman citizen in A.D. 212. His name, *Ales*, is very rare, and, perhaps, as yet unknown.[20] His father's name is hardly more frequent, but it appears on a curious Greek inscription from Karnak, in the Cairo Museum (n. 33,028), recently published by M. Héron de Villefosse, *Petites notes d'archéologie* III (1902), pp. 18–21, in which occurs (Col. I, l. 25) the names *Αχιλλευς Ιναροουτος*. It seems highly probable that the name read *Ιναρσουτος*, by Professor Mitteis in a Leipzig Greek papyrus (n. 17, l. 10), ought to be printed *Ιναροουτος*, as, perhaps also a mutilated name in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus n. 489, l. 17, though the published reading, [I]*λαρου*[*το*]*ς*, is quite satisfactory. Another form of the same name, *Ιναρως*, occurs on two Tebtunis papyri (93 and 82).

L. 8. *a uico Tisicheos nomi Hermupolitu.* The village of Tisichis is mentioned in two Berlin papyri from Herakleopolis (B.G.U. 552; B., I, B. and 555, 7), both times in a list of villages of the *Λευκοπυργειτης κατω toparchia:*

552. *Λευκοπ (υργειτου) κ[ατω]*	555.
Τεκερκ[ ]	
Ψιν. [ ]	. . . . .
Σενκε[*ρκ*]	*Σενκερκ*. [ ]
Τεκερκ[*εθοηρεως*]	*Τεκερκεθο*[*ηρεως*]
Μαγδωλ[*ων*]	*Μαγδωλων*
Χαιρεφαν[*ους*]	*Χαιρεφανους*
Ταλ[*οι*]	*Ταλοι* .
Κερ[*κεθοηρεως*]	[*Κε*]*ρκεθοηρεως*
Τισ[*ιχεως*]	[*Τισ*]*ιχεως*

[19] *Cf.* also *Digesta*, XLI, 4, 2, 14, and XLI, 2, 4, 9, and XVI, 1, 13; Girard, *Manuel*, p. 95.

[20] *Cf.* *Αλεις*, in B.G.U., 493.

The "*Leukopyrgeites katō*" toparchia does not belong (as still believed in 1898) to the Herakleopolite nome, but to the Hermopolite, as acutely remarked by Wilcken (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* I, 1901, p. 555).

L. 9. The form *Hermupolitu* is not the correct one: we would have expected *Hermopolitu*. As early as 1848 Letronne had established the following rule:[21] when an Egyptian town name is composed of a god's name followed by πολις, the two words are never contracted into one by the omission of the last letter in the god's name. The contract form, on the contrary, is always used for the ethnic; we have, for instance,

Αντινοου πολις	Αντινοοπολιτης
Διος πολις	Διοπολιτης
Κυνων πολις	Κυνοπολιτης

and in the same manner

Ερμου πολις	Ερμοπολιτης

L. 9. *drachmas augustas*, δραχμας σεβαστας, augustal drachms (and l. 22, τας του αργυριου δραχμας). The drachm is the ordinary word by which the Roman silver *denarius* is called in Greek papyri. The history of this coinage will be found in Professor Mommsen's important article, *Zum ägyptischen Münzwesen*, in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* I (1900) pp. 273–284. Two thousand two hundred drachms would make about £80 worth of silver, that is to say, the possible equivalent of £400 in modern money.

L. 10. *quas et ipse Ales*—Compare line 23 of British Museum papyrus, 229: *C. Iulius Titianus suboptio triere Libero Patre et ipse rogatus pro Gaio Iulio Antihoco*, etc. Instead of *et ipse*, Schulten has proposed to read *scripsi*, which seems necessary to the sense of the sentence, and suits pretty well the letters visible. The Amherst tablets however prove conclusively that *et ipse* is actually written on the British Museum Papyrus, though of course, in that document, *et ipse* may be an error of the scribe for *scripsi*.

L. 11. *donauit Helene liberta suprascripta*. The reading *libertae suprascriptae* is quite an obvious correction,[22] the sense being of

[21] *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Egypte*, Vol. II, p. 48–51.

[22] It is a well established fact that final *ae* was pronounced in the same way as final *a*. The confusion is frequent in late texts. See Lumbroso, *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (Rome, 1903, 8°), p. 51, note on line 274.

course that Aurelius Ales has paid 2200 drachms for the freedom of Helene, and that he has not lent her the money, but made her a present of it. It may be conjectured that Aurelius Ales intended marrying Helene. Females were frequently set free in order to be able to marry Roman citizens. The following passage of Justinian's constitution of 531 (*Cod. Iust.* VII. 6, 9; *cf. supra*) mentions a somewhat different case:

Sed et si quis homini libero suam ancillam in matrimonio collocauerit et dotem pro ea conscripserit, quod solitum est in liberis personis solis procedere, ancilla non Latina, sed ciuis efficiatur Romana. si enim hoc quod frequentissime in ciues Romanas et maxime in nobiles personas fieri solet, id est dotalis instrumenti conscriptio, et in hac persona adhibita est, necessarium est consentaneum effectum huiusmodi scripturae obseruari.

L. 12. *Actum*, "done," is the official word, meaning that an act has been drawn up and signed. It is used, for instance, in nearly all the donations, sales, and leases published in Bruns's *Fontes iuris romani*, or in Girard's *Textes de droit romain* (3rd edition) pp. 783–818.

L. 13. *Grato et Seleuco consulibus.* Gaius Vettius Gratus Sabinianus and Marcus Flavius Vitellius Seleucus were consuls in A.D. 221. The texts mentioning their names have been brought together by Klein, *Fasti consulares*, p. 96; and by Mommsen, *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. III, p. 1997.

L. 14. *anno iiii Imperatoris Caesaris Marci Aureli Antonini Pii Felicis Augusti.* The emperor named is Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, better known by his nickname *Ælagabalus* or *Heliogabalus;* he reigned from May the 6th, A.D. 218 to March the 11th, 222. His name is not common on papyri, although between twenty and thirty texts mentioning him are now known.[23] It will be remarked that the Amherst tablets bear a double date: a Roman one by kalends and consuls, and an Egyptian one by the year of the reigning emperor. The fourth year of Elagabalus extends from the 29th of August, A.D. 220 to the 28th of August, 221. The seventh day before the kalends of August is the 26th July, but the first day of Mesore is the 25th July and the 24th in leap years. There is a discordance of one day between the two dates. Doubtless the

[23] Most of them are quoted by Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 73.

blunder is due to the scribe's ignorance of the Roman calendar, and the real date of the document is July the 25th, 221.

L. 20. Instead of *απο*, *παρα* might perhaps be read.

L. 22. *εξωδιωσα*, I have paid, from *εξοδιαζω*; a most uncommon word even in papyri; it is used by the LXX (4 Kings, 12, 12): *εἰς πάντα ὅσα ἐξωδιάσθη επὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κραταιῶσαι*, or as the Revised version has it: "For all that was laid out for the house to repair it" (Jerome: *quae indigebant expensa ad muniendam domum*); it is not in the New Testament.[23] In papyri it is found in B.G.U. 362 several times (A.D. 215); Amh. 109, 10 (A.D. 185, 186); Amh. 135, 19 (early second century A.D.); Oxy. 55, 7 (A.D. 383); Oxy. 84, 12 (A.D. 316); Oxy. 474, 26 (A.D. 184?); Oxy. 531, 21 (second century A.D.), etc.; in all these examples it has merely the sense "to pay." It is evidently a word of the Ægypto-Alexandrine *Koinē*, and would deserve a place in Professor Deissmann's *Bible Studies*, by the side of so many other Old and New Testament rare Greek words found also on papyri.[24]

L. 23. *ου μετελευσομαι Ελενην*, I will make no claim on Helene, or I will make no claim against Helene. The sense of the verb *μετερχεσθαι* is here exceedingly doubtful. In the first case, Ales would declare that he in no manner considers the sum paid as the price of Helene, and that he in no manner claims her as his own property. In the second theory, by far the more probable, he confirms the word *donauit* of l. 10–11, and states that he has made Helene a present of the money, and will not ask it back again from her.

L. 25. *Αυρηλιος Αμμωνιος Ερμεινου*. Another newly-made Roman citizen. The name *Ερμεινος* is frequent (Amh. 99, 109, 139, 72, 71), and is often written *Ερμινος* (B.G.U. 21, 352, 435; Oxy. 135), or even *Ερμηνος* (G.P. II, 69).

L. 26. *εγραψα υπερ αυτου μη ειδοτος γραμματα*, have written for him as he knoweth not letters. A formula very frequent in Greek papyri, and even found in a Latin one (Br. Mus. 229): *qui negauit se literas.*

The signatures of the witnesses on p. 1 are unfortunately in a very bad state of preservation. There seem to have been seven

[24] Two other examples of *εξοδιαζω*, chiefly from late texts, will be found quoted in Estienne's *Thesaurus* (Didot edition) Vol. III, col. 1317. M. Hubert Pernot kindly informs me that it is quite frequent in modern Greek, with the sense of to "spend."

signatures, that is to say, that besides Ammôniôn and Ales *five* witnesses put their seals on the tablet, and wrote beside them their name and the word εσφραγισα, "I have sealed."

It is probable that the third signature ought to be read: [Αυρηλι]ος Αμμωνιω[ν] εσφραγισα, Aurelius Ammôniôn, I have sealed.

The fourth signature gives the name of Αυρ(ηλιος) Σιλβανος, *Aurelius Siluanus.*[25]

APPENDIX I.

OTHER MANUMISSIONS.

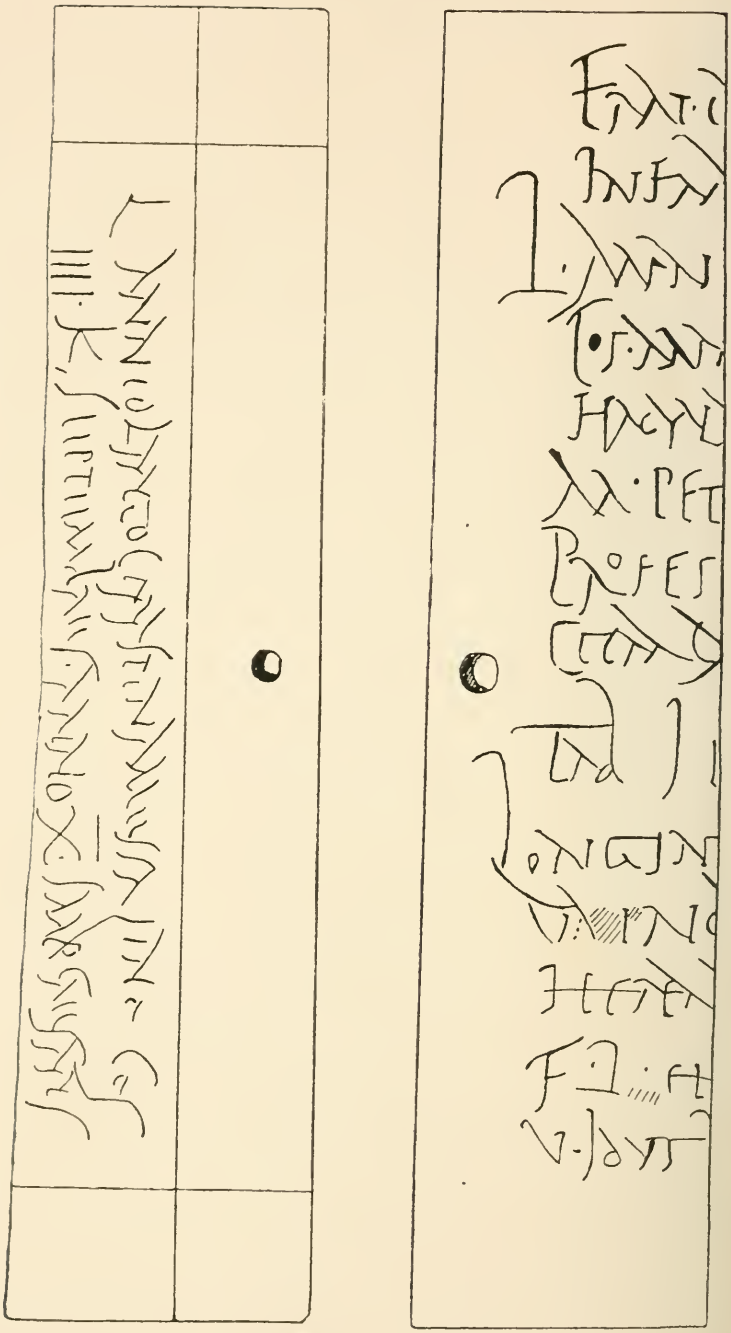
As I have said, no other Latin manumission is known; Greek manumissions from Egypt are exceedingly rare, only two having yet been published:

a. The Edmonstone papyrus. Published by Th. Young, *Act of manumission brought from Egypt by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart.*, in *Hieroglyphics collected by the Egyptian Society*, Vol. II (London, 1828, fol.), pl. 46, lithographed fac-simile without transcription; Adolph Schmidt, *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des Alterthums. 1 Teil. Die Griechischen Papyrusurkunden der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1842, 8°), pp. 298–302 and 305; E. Curtius, *Anecdota Delphica* (Berolini, 1843, 4°) Appendix I; E. M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography*, p. 142, with a specimen of the writing (Greek translation by Lambros, Βιβλιοθεκη Μαρασλι, Vol. 194, p. 245); C. Wessely, 13 *Jahresbericht des K.K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernals* (Wien, 1887, 8°), p. 47, *seqq.*; P. Viereck, *Bericht über die ältere Papyruslitteratur* in *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, Vol. 98 (1898), pp. 144-145. A correct edition will be given by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in Vol. IV of their excellent *Oxyrhynchus Papyri;* Mr. Grenfell kindly informs me that he has found several interesting Greek manumissions in his excavations at Oxyrhynchus.

b. The Berlin papyrus P. 6618, published by Wilcken in the *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung: Griechische Urkunden*, Vol. I, Part 4 (Berlin, 1893, 4°), pp. 115–116, n. 96, with a correction by Krebs, Part 12 (1895), p. 395.

[25] On the name Σιλβανος see Wessely, *Die lateinischen Elemente in der Gräzität der ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden*, II, p. 17 (= *Wiener Studien*, Vol. XXV, 1903).

PLATE IV.



THE OXFORD TABLET.

c. A Greek christian inscription from Kalabsheh (Nubia) is perhaps a manumission; but is so badly preserved that it is impossible to determine exactly the contents of the text. Published by Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie* (Stuttgart and Paris, 1822, fol.). *Inscr.*, pl. II, n. 3, engraved fac-simile and text (by Niebuhr), p. 9; Franz, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Vol. III, p. 477, n. 5040; A. H. Sayce, *Revue des études grecques*, Vol. VII (1894), p. 294.

d. Last of all I must mention here a small fragment of what may be a Latin deed of manumission on papyrus of the sixth century. It is a papyrus preserved in the Vatican library at Rome, and published by J. B. Doni, *Inscriptiones antiquae* (Florentiæ, 1731, 4°), p. 491, n. IX (Grimaldi's copy; cf. Cod. Vat., 6064, p. 24, and Cod. Ottobon. 3168, p. 21); G. Marini, *I papiri diplomatici* (Roma, 1805, fol.), p. 207, n. CXLI, *cf.* p. 377; E. Spangenberg, *Juris Romani tabulae negotiorum sollemnium* (Lipsiæ, 1822, 8°), pp. 376–377, n. LXXVI; H. Marucchi, *Monumenta papyracea latina bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Romæ, 1895, 4°), p. 24, n. xxiv.

APPENDIX II.

THE OXFORD TABLET. (PL. IV.)

The Oxford tablet will be published by Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, in Mr. F. Madan's *Accessions* (a catalogue of MSS. added to the Bodleian library since 1900), pp. 153–154, n. 32,409.[26] Mr. Madan was kind enough to give me a copy of the proof sheets of this catalogue, so I am able to quote Mr. Nicholson's excellent description of the fragment. Brought from Egypt by Mr. Grenfell, it was bought for the Bodleian library on the 23rd October, 1896. It is now inscribed in that library as Ms. Lat., class. e., 16 (P). It is $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches long and only $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches broad (194 × 67 mm.). I copied it in December, 1901 (see my drawing on pl. III). "This," says Mr. Nicholson, "is part of a diptych or triptych. One side of it is sunk within a frame, and the sunk part covered with black wax. The full length of the frame is preserved, $6\frac{15}{16}$ in., and a hole is pierced in the middle of the length, for the purpose of tying it to the other leaf or leaves of the tablet."

[26] It is briefly described in my *Bulletin papyrologique*, *Revue des études grecques* Vol. XV (1902), p. 432, and in my *Prefects of Egypt* in these *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV (1902), 64, n. 49.

On the waxed side I read with Mr. Nicholson—

L ANNIOLARGOCPRASTINAMESSALINO COS
IIII·K SEPTEMBRES·ANNOX̄·IMPCAESARIS

The rest is broken off except the tops of a few letters.

On the unwaxed side of the board, written in black ink, only the beginnings of the lines are preserved. My copy is not always exactly identical with Mr. Nicholson's reading: my fac-simile may help to check my text:

1.	ERAT·D	*qui*
2.	INFRA	*scripti sunt*
3.	L·ANN	*io Largo C. Prastina Messalino*
4.	COS·ANN	*o x Imp. Caesaris T. Aelii*
5.	HADRIA	*ni Antonii Aug. Pii*
6.	M·PET	*ronio Honorato praef. Aeg.*
7.	PROFES	
8.	CCCMCA	
9.	TAB IL	
10.	LONGIN	
11.	VMPRID	
12.	HERENN	
13.	F·L·H	
14.	V·IDVS I	

The restorations proposed for lines 3 to 6 are by Mr. Nicholson.

L. 8 very doubtful; Mr. Nicholson reads CCDRAC(M) with some hesitation.

L. 11 also doubtful; Mr. Nicholson reads V(AE ?)N(O ?)(D ?).

L. 11. [*act*]*um* is just possible.

Unfortunately too little remains of the text to be able to understand almost anything else than the names of the two consuls (A.D. 147), the date by the year of the reigning emperor, and the name of the præfect of Egypt; all this has been correctly determined by Mr. Nicholson.

THE SUBJECT OF EASTER AT THE COUNCILS OF NICE AND OF ANTIOCH.

By Prof. Dr. E. Mahler.

(*Continued from page* 162.)

It would have been easy for the Council of Nice, if that had been its object, to avoid, once for all, the coincidence of the two Festivals. We have already mentioned the cycle of nineteen years fixed by Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea, in which the XIVth moon of the first year fell on April the 4th. This year corresponds with the twelfth year of the Alexandrian cycle; it is easy therefore to arrive at the idea that the Alexandrian cycle is only a modification of the cycle of Anatolius, so arranged that the Alexandrians fixed the earliest date for Easter on March 21st, one day later than Anatolius, and moreover they commenced their cycle with the ninth year of his. If we take this difference into consideration we can easily, knowing the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, reconstruct the earlier cycle, for we need only commence with the twelfth year. The cycle thus arrived at will be essentially that of the Alexandrians, the only difference being that the *Golden Numbers* exceed by eight those of the Alexandrians. The relation between the two cycles is as follows :—

Golden Number.		Golden Number.	
Alexandrian Cycle.	Cycle of Anatolius.	Alexandrian Cycle.	Cycle of Anatolius.
1	9	11	19
2	10	12	1
3	11	13	2
4	12	14	3
5	13	15	4
6	14	16	5
7	15	17	6
8	16	18	7
9	17	19	8
10	18	1	9

The relation between the Golden Numbers and the limits of Easter remain the same. Thus :—

GOLDEN NUMBER.	LIMIT OF EASTER.			GOLDEN NUMBER.	LIMIT OF EASTER.		
1	April 5th	...	D	11	April 15th	...	G
2	March 25th	...	G	12	April 4th	...	C
3	April 13th	...	E	13	March 24th	...	F
4	April 2nd	...	A	14	April 12th	...	D
5	March 22nd	...	D	15	April 1st	...	G
6	April 10th	...	B	16	March 21st	...	C
7	March 30th	...	E	17	April 9th	...	A
8	April 18th	...	C	18	March 29th	...	D
9	April 7th	...	F	19	April 17th	...	B
10	March 27th	...	B	1	April 5th	...	D

This definition of the Golden Numbers has enormous advantages over that of the Alexandrians. In the first place, this, that in order to find the Golden Number of a given year, we have only to add to the number of the year the same number as we should have to add if we wished to fix the Sunday letter of that year, that is to say, 9; for in the given case the Golden Number is not that of the Alexandrian cycle, resulting from the division by 19 of the number of the year + 1, but is the remainder resulting from the division by 19 of the number of the year + 9. Thus in order to find the Golden Number by the Alexandrian cycle we must add a number additional to that which is required when the Solar cycle is used (in the first case + 1, in the second case + 9), whereas according to our cycle the number is the same. The epoch of the Lunar cycle of 19 years is the same as that of the Solar cycle of 28 years, and after each period of $19 \times 28 = 532$ years the two simultaneously recommence their cycle, and then the Golden Number of each cycle = 1.

The importance of our cycle is still greater if we consider the fact that the Easter Sundays fixed by means of the Golden Numbers *never* coincide with the Jewish Passover, for if the Passover, according to the Golden Numbers, falls on a Sunday, then Easter Sunday is a week later. That which, by means of the Alexandrian method, might have been attained in the eighth century,

was, as we have seen, already attained in the first centuries of the Christian chronology.

The following synoptical table shows the coincidence of Easter with the Jewish Passover in the IVth to the VIIIth centuries :—

IVTH CENTURY.

A.D.	The Jewish Passover.	Easter Sunday according to the Alexandrian Cycle.	Easter Sunday according to the principle stated above.
316	March 25th	March 25th	April 1st.
319	March 22nd	March 22nd	March 29th.
323	April 7th	April 7th	April 14th.
343	March 27th	March 27th	April 3rd.
347	April 12th	April 12th	April 19th.
367	April 1st	April 1st	April 8th.
370	March 28th	March 28th	April 4th.
374	April 13th	April 13th	April 20th.
387	March 21st	April 25th	March 28th.
394	April 2nd	April 2nd	April 9th.

VTH CENTURY.

401	April 14th	April 14th	April 21st.
414	March 22nd	March 22nd	March 29th.
418	April 7th	April 7th	April 14th.
421	April 3rd	April 3rd	April 10th.
441	March 23rd	March 23rd	March 30th.
445	April 8th	April 8th	April 15th.
465	March 28th	March 28th	April 4th.
468	March 24th	March 31st	March 31st.
472	April 9th	April 16th	April 16th.
492	March 29th	April 5th	April 5th.
496	April 14th	April 14th	April 21st.
499	April 11th	April 11th	April 18th.

VITH CENTURY.

A.D.	The Jewish Passover.	Easter Sunday according to the Alexandrian Cycle.	Easter Sunday according to the principle stated above.
512	March 18th	April 22nd	April 22nd.
519	March 31st	March 31st	April 7th.
523	April 16th	April 16th	April 23rd.
536	March 23rd	March 23rd	March 30th.
539	March 20th	April 24th	March 27th.
543	April 5th	April 5th	April 12th.
563	March 25th	March 25th	April 1st.
566	March 21st	March 28th	March 28th.
570	April 6th	April 6th	April 13th.
590	March 26th	March 26th	April 2nd.
594	April 11th	April 11th	April 18th.

VIITH CENTURY.

614	March 31st	March 31st	April 7th.
617	March 27th	April 3rd	April 3rd.
621	April 12th	April 19th	April 19th.
634	March 20th	April 24th	March 27th.
641	April 1st	April 8th	April 8th.
648	April 13th	April 20th	April 20th.
661	March 21st	March 28th	March 28th.
664	March 17th	April 21st	April 21st.
668	April 2nd	April 9th	April 9th.
688	March 22nd	March 29th	March 29th.
692	April 7th	April 14th	April 14th.

VIIIth CENTURY.

A.D.	The Jewish Passover.	Easter Sunday according to the Alexandrian Cycle.	Easter Sunday according to the principle stated above.
712	March 27th	April 3rd	April 3rd.
715	March 27th	March 31st	March 31st.
719	April 9th	April 16th	April 16th.
739	March 29th	April 5th	April 5th.
743	April 14th	April 14th	April 21st.
746	April 10th	April 17th	April 17th.
759	March 18th	April 22nd	April 22nd.
766	March 30th	April 6th	April 6th.
770	April 15th	April 22nd	April 22nd.
783	March 23rd	March 23rd	March 30th.
786	March 19th	April 23rd	March 26th.
790	April 4th	April 11th	April 11th.

We see that the cycle of nineteen years of which we have spoken above (p. 197)—and which is simply the Alexandrian cycle but with other Golden Numbers—forms a Canon corresponding to what tradition declares was the intention of the Councils of Nice and of Antioch.

As tradition nowhere speaks of the application of these Golden Numbers, but on the contrary makes use of the cycle of Alexandria, as also in the IVth–VIth centuries, and later still, the coincidence of the Paschal Festivals was not rare, as we see by the preceding table—we may conclude that neither the Council of Nice nor that of Antioch can have decreed decisions with regard to these coincidences; for if such a thing had been intended, the learned bishops who were assembled there would have discovered the method, of which we have spoken, for avoiding them; all the more because the only difference between the Alexandrian and the modified cycle is the difference in the Golden Numbers. Inasmuch as no such modification was pronounced, and that by the Roman cycle of eighty-four years and the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, Easter and the Passover coincided within a few

years of the Councils of Nice and of Antioch, we think we are justified in saying that the sole object of these councils was to ensure the celebration of Easter "*uno die et uno tempore.*"

As we have just seen, it certainly would not have been difficult to set up a Canon which would have excluded the possibility of these coincidences. The new cycle might have been based on a neutral foundation, and at the same time put an end to the dispute between the Romans and the Alexandrians, without favouring the latter. We might moreover assume the possibility of a new cycle having been made, but that it was lost; so much the more would the principles enunciated on page 198 be worthy of study. It seems to us that the letter of the Emperor Constantine, which was addressed to those who were not at the Council, was not originally in the form in which we know it. We read in it: " . . . . . because of it they do not see the truth on this point, the subject of Easter, so that full of error and far from improvement, they often celebrate two Passovers in the same year."

But the Jews always celebrate their Passover on the 15th Nisan of their Luni-solar year. It was then impossible that two Passovers could be celebrated in the same year, for the year of the Calendar by which the Jews fix their Festival and the Luni-solar year are the same. On the other hand, in the Christian Church it was by no means unusual for two Easters to be celebrated in the same Solar year. Such, for example, was the case in the year in which the Council of Nice was held. In A.D. 325 Easter Sunday fell on April 18th; the following year the Feast was celebrated on April 3rd, consequently two Easters were celebrated in the same Julian year (April 18th, 325—April 18th, 326). In the year 327 Easter fell on March 26th; here again we have two celebrations of Easter in the same year (April 3rd, 326—April 3rd, 327). We cannot believe that the learned advisers of the Emperor Constantine were not aware of this, or paid no attention to it. This is an additional reason for supposing that the decree of Constantine—or at least in part—is the work of a date much nearer our own time. It is surprising that when Gregory reformed the Calendar he attached no importance to the circumstance that during almost the whole of the middle-ages there had never been an instance of coincidence of Easter with the Jewish Passover, and that he contented himself with the ancient Paschal rule which fixed Easter day on the Sunday after the first full-moon following March 21st. In this way a

coincidence was possible, even if of rare occurrence, of the feasts in question, which were fixed, not by astronomical events, but by mathematical cycles.

The coincidences might have been easily avoided if the Roman Church had seriously considered the subject, or if ALOYSIUS LILIUS, to whom we are, in truth, indebted for the scientific reform of the calendar, had taken this argument into consideration. He would have had to augment the Golden Numbers by 8 according to the rules stated above, that is to say, he would have had to introduce not the remainder after the division of the number of years + 1, but the remainder after the division of the number of years + 9. Undoubtedly the figures would have differed by some units, and consequently the Paschal full-moons would have differed by one or two days from the dates given by the old method. Our task is not to fix the full-moon, but Easter Sunday, and we seek the day of full-moon only to be able to fix the date of Easter, consequently it makes no difference to us if the limits of Easter fall on Sunday 26th, Monday 27th, or even on Tuesday 28th of March, for in either case Easter Sunday will fall on April 2nd. So again it is a matter of indifference if we find the limit of Easter on Thursday, April 3rd, or Saturday, April 5th, for in either case Easter Sunday will be on Sunday, April 6th. We find a difference only when the limit falls on a Saturday, for if it falls on the next day (Sunday), or the day but one after (Monday), Easter must be celebrated, by our method, a week later than by the method hitherto employed. A still greater difference is shown in the case of the two limiting dates. We know that the first limit is on March 21st, and the last on April 18th.

It might happen that, according to the usual method, the full-moon of March fell on March 20th, and consequently to fix Easter we make use of the full-moon next following; whilst according to the proposed method the full-moon of March would fall on the 21st or 22nd, and would serve at the same time as the Easter full-moon. So also if the usual method fixes April 18th for the limit, the proposed method advances it by one or two days, and it cannot be regarded as the Easter full-moon, but we regard it instead as the full-moon of March. The following table proves that the cases cited are exceptional.

Year.	Sunday Letter.	Gregorian Calendar.					Proposed Method.				
		Golden Number.	Epact.	Limits of Easter.		Easter Day.	Golden Number.	Epact.	Limits of Easter.		Easter Day.
1601	G	6	XXVI	April 17th	B	April 22nd	14	XXIV	April 18th	C	April 22nd
1602	F	7	VII	April 6th	E	April 7th	15	V	April 8th	G	April 14th
1603	E	8	XVIII	March 26th	A	March 30th	16	XVI	March 28th	C	March 30th
1604	DC	9	XXIX	April 14th	F	April 18th	17	XXVII	April 16th	A	April 18th
1605	B	10	X	April 3rd	B	April 10th	18	VIII	April 5th	D	April 10th
1606	A	11	XXI	March 23rd	E	March 26th	19	XIX	March 25th	G	March 26th
1607	G	12	II	April 11th	C	April 15th	1	I	April 12th	D	April 15th
1608	FE	13	XIII	March 31st	F	April 6th	2	XII	April 1st	G	April 6th
1609	D	14	XXIV	April 18th	C	April 19th	3	XXIII	March 21st	C	March 22nd
1610	C	15	V	April 8th	G	April 11th	4	IV	April 9th	A	April 11th
1611	B	16	XVI	March 28th	C	April 3rd	5	XV	March 29th	D	April 3rd
1612	AG	17	XXVII	April 16th	A	April 22nd	6	XXVI	April 17th	B	April 22nd
1613	F	18	VIII	April 5th	D	April 7th	7	VII	April 6th	E	April 7th
1614	E	19	XIX	March 25th	G	March 30th	8	XVII	March 26th	A	March 30th
1615	D	1	I	April 12th	D	April 19th	9	XXIX	April 14th	F	April 19th

Among the fifteen years cited we find only two in which the dates are not the same. These are the years 1602 and 1609. According to the Gregorian calendar the limit of Easter in 1602 fell on Saturday the 6th of April, and therefore Easter Sunday was on April 7th; according to the proposed rule the limit falls on Monday, April 8th, and consequently Easter a week later, on April 14th. In 1609 the Gregorian calendar fixes the limit on Saturday, April 18th, and Easter Sunday on April 19th; our method, however, fixes the limit on Saturday, March 21st, and Easter day on March 22nd.

The method of which we speak has, for the Christian Church, the advantage that Easter can never coincide with the Jewish Passover, while it has already so happened four times according to the Gregorian calendar, viz., on April 9th, 1609; April 14th, 1805; April 3rd, 1825; and April 12th, 1903. Our method would fix these days thus: March 22nd, 1609; April 21st, 1805; April 10th, 1825; April 19th, 1903. The calculation is correct. The Sunday after the Spring-full-moon is called Easter Sunday. A coincidence of Easter day and the Jewish Passover is therefore only possible when the full-moon falls on a Saturday evening, for the next day, Sunday, is the 15th Nisan. Since our method postpones the limit by one or two days, this full-moon which, by the Gregorian calendar, fell on a Saturday, will fall on Sunday, or even on Monday, and consequently Easter will be celebrated a week later. In the exceptional case of the coincidence falling on April 19th, the following Sunday, April 26th, cannot take part in a combination, the latest limit for Easter being, as we know, April 25th. In the given case our method does not take into consideration the next Sunday, but the past Sunday (four weeks). This was the case, for example, in 1609. According to the Gregorian calendar the two feasts coincided on April 19th; if we accept the proposed method, Easter falls on March 22nd.

The result of the simple provision of increasing the Golden Numbers by 8 would have been that Easter, which under the Julian Calendar from the end of the VIIIth century did not coincide with the Jewish Passover, would not have done so under the Gregorian Calendar. Since no such decision was promulgated we may take it that none was considered, and that the Church attached no importance to the matter. In the first case we understand the commentary, in the second case we cannot explain why the Church

did not change the complicated rule of the limits for one more simple, and which could have been understood by the laity; for example: "Easter falls on the first Sunday after the Spring equinox"; or "Easter Sunday is the first Sunday in April." With such a rule, the simplest possible, the same result would have been obtained as with the complicated rule. What does this last offer us? Nothing more than that Easter falls on a Sunday *after* March 21st. It is very rarely the case that this Feast falls on full-moon; on the contrary, Easter is most frequently celebrated five or six days, even seven days, after full-moon, so that the Feast is not celebrated at full-moon, but when the moon is waning. Moreover the coincidence with the Jewish Passover is not avoided. Why then have such complicated rules? If one is unwilling to abandon this rule, in order at all events to prevent the celebration of Easter at no matter what phase of the moon, one ought at least to modify the rule. The most practicable modification makes the Golden Numbers the result, not of the division by 19 of the number of years + 1, but of the division by 19 of the number of years + 9, and consequently *Easter can never coincide with the Jewish Passover.*

It may be objected that by increasing the Golden Numbers by 8, that is by advancing them an octave, the phases of the moon would, according to our cycle, diverge in 8 years by a day and a-half,[6] and thus after 10 repetitions there would be a divergence of half a month. This objection would hold good if we counted by a cycle of 8 years. But such is not the case. Our calculation is based on a cycle of 19 years, which was the basis of the Gregorian limits. We simply advance the commencement, or "epoch" of the cycle by 8 years, which certainly results in a difference of one or two days, but this difference is almost without importance with reference to the date of Easter.

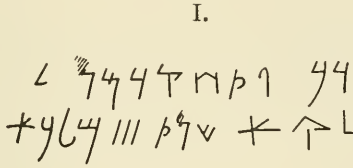
[6] $8 \times 365\frac{1}{4} = 2922$ days. 99 Synod. months $= 2923\frac{1}{2}$ days.

ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*

The following inscriptions which I have copied in Egypt have, so far as I know, not been published elsewhere.

I.



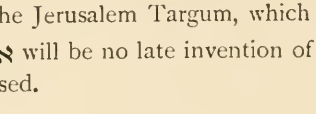
This inscription I found in 1890 on a large boulder of rock near the entrance of the Wadi Shêkh Shêkhûn, about five miles to the north of Ekhmîm, among a number of Greek inscriptions, some of which record the names of the members of a hunting club which existed at Ekhmîm in the Ptolemaic age. Many of the Greek inscriptions have been published by M. Bouriant in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, XI, pp. 147–149 (1889); the rest I have given in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1891, pp. 53–55. M. Bouriant has also printed along with the Greek inscriptions a short Phœnician *graffito* which has been reproduced in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, as well as a few letters of the Aramaic inscription which I now publish, and which he calls "Asianic." The inscription reads:—

ברך פתח־קדמן לאל־קא שנת ווו מלכא

"Blessed be Ptah-qadmon of El-Qa; the 3rd year of the king." According to analogy "the 3rd year" would be that of a Persian king. Ptah-qadmon is an interesting name, reminding us of Abd-Ptah and Ptahi in the Phœnician *graffiti* of Abu-Simbel. The formula is that of the Aramaic *graffiti* of Heshân which I have

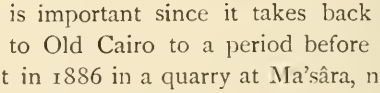
published in the *Recueil de Travaux* XVII, p. 164 (1895), and is found in Gen. xiv., 19. Mr. Cowley suggests that אל־קא is the אלקא of the Jerusalem Targum, which is used in place of אלהים. If so, אלקא will be no late invention of the Rabbis as has hitherto been supposed.

II.



These were on fragments of columns found by M. de Morgan at Dahshûr, but probably originally from Memphis. They contain three proper names, . . ררת . . , הרמש, Hor-mes an Egyptian name, and הרמש זב. In the case of the last, however, the perpendicular line may represent not the letter ז, but a division of words, and the reading should be [ר]ב, "Hor-mes the son of . . . ."

III.



This inscription is important since it takes back the name of Babylon as applied to Old Cairo to a period before the Christian era. I discovered it in 1886 in a quarry at Ma'sâra, north of Tûra, written above the demotic cartouche of Akoris. It reads: פטי בר שמן בבלי "Phuti son of Shaman (*i.e.* Fatty) the Babylonian." *Phutî*, "the Phutite," is as interesting as *Babli*, since, with the exception of a passage in an inscription of Nebuchadrezzar which I pointed out many years ago, and possibly the list of the satrapies of Darius, it is the only example of the name of Phut that we have outside the pages of the Old Testament. Nebuchadrezzar defeated "the soldiers of the city of Pudhu-yâvan" or Phut of the Ionians, "a distant land which is within the sea," during his campaign against Amasis of Egypt.

A PANEL FROM AN IVORY DIPTYCH IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

By O. M. Dalton, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*

The British Museum has recently acquired an ivory panel of great interest to students of Early Christian Art. It is stated to have been brought from a monastery in Greece, but further than this its history is not known. The ivory is now of a rich brown tint, and is especially dark on the back, where there is a Greek inscription in nine lines added at a later period. (See below.) At the top there are two perforations, one above, the other below the arch or canopy; and all round the edges is a rebate, showing where the four missing plaques were fitted on. Both top and bottom have been somewhat damaged, the top having lost two crosses in low relief which surmounted the columns on each side: the traces of one cross are, however, clearly visible. The dimensions are $8\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ in. (= 21·5 × 12·5 centimetres), and the principal subject is the Adoration of the Magi, below which is represented the Nativity.

It is clear that we have before us a central plaque of one of the well-known composite diptychs, each leaf of which was made of five plaques neatly fitted together—a large panel in the centre, two long narrow plaques at top and bottom projecting beyond both sides, and two small lateral plaques filling up the vacant spaces, and so completing the rectangle. These composite or "five-part" diptychs measure from about $10\frac{1}{4} \times 13$ in. to $12\frac{1}{4} \times 14$ in. (= 26 × 33 to 31 × 36 centimetres), and date, as a class, from the period between the fourth and seventh centuries.[1] There are, I believe, only three

[1] An excellent description of these diptychs will be found in W. Meyer, *Zwei antike Elfenbeintafeln der K. Staatsbibliothek in München*, p. 49ff. (Munich 1872); and in Prof. J. Strzygowski's book *Byzantinische Denkmäler* Vol. I; *Das Etschmiadzin Evangeliar*, pp. 28ff. (Vienna 1891). Several of them are figured by Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte Cristiana* Vol. VI, plates 454–458, and the casts made by the Arundel Society are exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum. See also A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana* Vol. I, pp. 508ff, and the descriptions given by Westwood in his *Fictile Ivories*.

complete examples in existence, the pair in the Cathedral at Milan, that in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the pair forming the covers of a MS. of the Gospels at Etchmiadzin in Armenia.[2] One other pair is almost complete, for one of its leaves is preserved intact in the Communal Library at Ravenna, while the other leaf is represented by three panels in different private collections.[3] Of yet another diptych one leaf alone has survived: I refer to the famous Barberini ivory now in Paris[4] with an equestrian figure of an Emperor, by some considered to represent Constantine the Great, by others Justinian. The two five-part panels in the Vatican Library[5] and the Victoria and Albert Museum[6] respectively are German copies made in the 10th century, and cannot therefore be ascribed to the early Christian period in the strict sense of the term. Single plaques from five-part diptychs have here and there escaped destruction; such, for instance, are the scattered pieces of the Ravenna example already mentioned, the lateral panels in the museums of Florence and Berlin, and an upper plaque at Basle with an inscription PERPETVAE SEMPER † AVGVSTAE. To this group of isolated plaques the recent acquisition of the British Museum forms a most important addition.

It is well known that it was the custom for consuls and other high officials of the Roman Empire, upon their accession to office, to present ivory diptychs to important dignitaries of their acquaintance, and that this custom, restricted by the Theodosian Code (xv., 9, 1) to consuls only, continued until the abolition of the chief magistracy by Justinian in 541. Each leaf of these ordinary "Consular diptychs," of which a considerable series still exists,[7] consisted of

[2] *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, as above plate I.

[3] All the parts of this diptych are figured together, by Strzygowski, *Hellenistische und Koptische Kunst in Alexandria* pp. 86-87. (*Vienna* 1902).

[4] G. Schlumberger, *L'ivoire Barberini*, in *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (*Fondation Eugène Piot*), Vol. vii, Paris, 1900, plate X; Ch. Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au 6me Siècle* (Paris, 1901), frontispiece.

[5] Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte Cristiana* Vol. VI, plate 457; R. Kanzler, *Gli avori . . . della Biblioteca Vaticana*, plate iv (Rome 1903).

[6] Maskell, *Description of the ivories in the S. Kensington Museum* (1872), p. 53. The question of the place of origin of these two diptychs (probably the Abbey of Lorsch) is discussed by Dr. H. Graeven, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* Vol. X (1901), p. 14.

[7] For a list of the Consular diptychs, and for illustrations, see E. Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, Vol. I, pp. 17 ff. (Paris, 1896)

a single piece of ivory only; the less numerous five-part diptychs formed an exceptional class made for presentation not to mere dignitaries, but to members of the imperial house.[8] The Barberini diptych is an instance of this imperial class, and, if the figure upon it is really Constantine, is the oldest of the surviving examples. At quite an early period these complex and fragile five-part diptychs began to be used as covers for the Gospels, and the examples later than A.D. 541 were probably all made in the first instance for this purpose, to which they were obviously well adapted. The places of honour on the two leaves, formerly occupied by the Emperor and the Empress, were now reserved for Christ and the Virgin.

In the attempts which have been made by scholars to classify early Christian ivories, the individual five-part diptychs have been assigned to various groups, for it is clear that they are not all contemporaneous, and not all made in the same part of the empire. If we now ask whether our panel belongs to the same group as any of the previously mentioned examples, we find that it bears the closest possible resemblance to the diptych of which the perfect leaf is at Ravenna. It is with the imperfect leaf, the remaining plaques of which are now dispersed (see above) that the relationship is strongest, for the central plaque of that leaf, till recently in the collection of the Earl of Crawford, is identical both in the choice and in the disposition of its subjects, and almost identical in its details.[9] There is the same monumental, pyramidal grouping of the figures in the principal scene of the Adoration of the Magi, and the Virgin is seated in the same rigid way, full face upon her throne, surrounded by the kings and the angel.[10] Her bent arms hold the child in the same awkwardly symmetrical attitude, and she gazes out into space with the same round and vacant eyes. As in the Crawford panel, the wise men are of different ages, only here the older and bearded king stands on the right instead of the left; they wear the traditional Asiatic costume which was employed in this scene until the later middle ages. The crosses above the columns are identically placed in both panels; only the band of ornament dividing the two subjects, and the decoration of the

[8] W. Meyer, as above, p. 51.

[9] J. Strzygowski, *Hellenistische und Koptische Kunst*; fig. 63 on p. 87; Ch. Diehl, *Justinien*, fig. 206 on p. 649.

[10] On the introduction of an angel as guide of the Magi, see Max Schmid, *Die Darstellung der Geburt Christi in der bildenden Kunst*, pp. 92, 100.

arch or canopy beneath which the Virgin sits are markedly different in our example, both being simpler and less luxuriant in character.

In the lower scene of the Nativity, there is an equally close resemblance. To the left, the Virgin reclines upon a mattress; to the right the Child lies upon a high manger of masonry or brickwork, with the star visible above his feet. On either side are the ox and ass regarding the infant; while in the foreground the incredulous Salome extends her withered hand to touch the swaddling clothes, in order that by the contact it may be made whole.[11]

When on two independent works of art like the Crawford ivory and our own the same two scenes are found treated in a manner which is almost identical, we are tempted to ask whether the similarity may not be due to the existence of a common model. The monumental treatment of the principal group, to which allusion has already been made, suggests that this model may have been a larger sculpture, or, more probably still, a mosaic picture. The consideration of the Crawford panel had already suggested this conjecture,[12] and M. J. Smirnoff,[13] has found a remarkable confirmation of the view in the text of an anti-iconoclastic document of the year 836, where there occurs the following description of the mosaics of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The writer describes: *Τὴν ἁγίαν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν καὶ τὴν Θεομήτορα ἐγκόλπιον φέρουσαν τὸ ζωοφόρον βρέφος καὶ τὴν τῶν μάγων μετὰ δώρων προσκύνησιν.* The occurrence of this second example strengthens the hypothesis of the Russian archæologists. We know that the prestige and artistic influence of the monuments at the holy places spread far and wide throughout the Christian world when the great era of pilgrimages began with the age of Constantine. At this time the initiative in Christian art seems to have largely passed from Alexandria to Palestine, and the votive churches of Constantine undoubtedly exercised an influence on the minor arts. Certain motives became stereotyped by imitation,

[11] The episode, as here seen, is based upon the account in the Pseudo Mathew rather than upon that in the *Protevangelium Jacobi*. See M. Schmid, as above, p. 49.

[12] D. Ainaloff, *The Hellenistic bases of Byzantine art*, pp. 58 ff. (St. Petersburg, 1900. In Russian). A German abstract of this work will be found in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1903, pp. 35 ff.

[13] *Vizantieski Vremenik*, Vol. iv (1897), p. 91 f. See Strzygowski, *Hell: und Kopt: Kunst*, as above, p. 92.

and the process may be traced, for example, in the subjects on the ampullae from the Holy Land given by Gregory the Great to Queen Theodelinda, now in the Cathedral of Monza.[14]

The Ravenna diptych, with a considerable group of ivories, chiefly pyxes, exhibiting affinities to it, is now, by very general consent, ascribed to the Syro-Egyptian province of early Christian art.[15] Iconographically it points to Syria rather than to Egypt. The representation of the Virgin enthroned full-face in the Adoration scene is typically Syrian, being found on the Monza ampullae, and in a sixth-century miniature in the Gospels of Etchmiadzin. But Professor Strzygowski adduces arguments in favour of the district of Thebes in upper Egypt,[16] especially comparing ornamental details with examples of Coptic sculpture from this region. It is doubly difficult to decide the question of origin in view of the fact that in the sixth and seventh centuries, Egypt and Syria obeyed a common artistic influence, and types which started in Syria-Palestine may have been at once adopted in Egypt, passing, so to speak, into the design-books of Egyptian artists. It is thus quite conceivable that a common motive may have been reproduced in both countries almost at the same time with very slight divergencies, and that, even if the Ravenna diptych was produced in Egypt, our own panel may still be the work of a Syrian school. What seems certain is that it was made in the Oriental half of the Christian world. Like the Adoration, the Nativity is Oriental in its type. The Virgin lying on the mattress and the presence of Salome are distinctive Oriental features, and Oriental of a definite period, between the time of Justinian and the close of the 8th century. The treatment of the subject here seen is almost identical with that upon two ivory pyxes, one in Berlin and the other in Vienna.[17]

We are thus enabled to confine the date of our ivory within comparatively narrow limits. It must have been produced before the Arab

[14] Ainaloff, as above, pp. 158 ff. The ampullae are all reproduced by Garrucci, as above, Vol. VI, plates 433–5.

[15] Dr. G. Stuhlfauth's attribution to Monza has found little acceptance. His enumeration of ivories belonging to the group of the Ravenna diptych is, however, valuable. (*Altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*, Freiburg and Leipsic, 1896, pp. 113 ff.)

[16] *Hellenistische und Koptische Kunst*, as above, pp. 88 ff.

[17] Max Schmid, *Die Darstellung der Geburt Christi in der bildenden Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1890), pp. 39 and 40, and p. 125. According to Schmid, Salome extending her hand is not found in representations of the Nativity after about 800 A.D.

conquest of Syria and Egypt, that is to say, in the sixth or early seventh century, when the countries of the S.E. Mediterranean were distinguished among all the provinces of the Byzantine empire alike in commerce and in art. If we may judge from the number of surviving ivory carvings almost certainly produced in this part of the world, the minor branch of the sculptor's art which they represent must then have flourished exceedingly, and contributed its share to the exports which Syrian merchants carried to all the shores of the Mediterranean. The work of this time is distinguished by a certain rude strength and massiveness, as well as by a disregard of mere prettiness of effect, which fitly belong to a period, decadent indeed, but not so far removed from classical influences as to have quite forgotten the monumental sculpture of the past. In these qualities it diverges from the delicate ivory carving of post-iconoclastic times, which is often characterised by a preoccupation with points of detail and by little refinements of execution fatal to broad and vigorous treatment. With the advent of the Basilian dynasty, altered tastes and conditions demanded new forms; ivory was perhaps not to be obtained in such quantities as before; monumental sculpture was degraded to a mere accessory of architecture and was no longer a source of inspiration. The pyxes and the great five-part bookcovers were now largely replaced by work in the precious metals, and the ivory carver chiefly confined his attention to smaller and more highly finished devotional diptychs and triptychs which distinguish the time between the suppression of iconoclasm in the ninth century and the sack of Constantinople in 1204. The Ravenna diptych and its group are variously dated by different authorities between the last half of the sixth and the first half of the seventh century. The British Museum panel is certainly not inferior in style and execution, and may perhaps be assigned to the earlier of these two periods. The inscription on the back is in nine lines, but the right half is obliterated. Dr. F. G. Kenyon, who has kindly examined it, describes it as a prayer in Greek minuscule character, apparently of the 12th century.

IVORY PANEL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

SAHIDIC BIBLICAL FRAGMENTS
IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

By E. O. WINSTEDT.

II.

To the Old Testament fragments given in my former article I now add two which, though I could not actually identify them, seem to belong respectively to Exodus and the Psalms; others containing a quotation which is referred to David, and a Biblical reference; and a Boheiric fragment containing a quotation from a Psalm. That completes the tale of Old Testament fragments. The present article contains also three fragments from the Gospel of St. Matthew, of which the second has several verses which are not to be found in the collections of Woide, Amelineau, or Balestri,[1] while the third is especially interesting because—though the dating of Coptic MSS. is so uncertain that this is the only case in which I have attempted it—it can hardly be later than the 5th century.

From *MS. Coptic*, *g.* 3. This parchment fragment contains the beginning of the names ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ (Moses) and ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲱ, and is probably a fragment of Exodus, but I could not identify it.

ⲟ		VERSO.	ⲏ
ⲏ			ⲛ
ⲩ			ⲉⲓ
ⲟⲩ			ⲣⲣⲟ
ⲯⲟⲩⲏⲥ	ⲇⲩ	ⲥ	ⲫⲏⲁⲕ
ⲁϥ:-	ⲏ	·	ⲑⲟⲏ · ⲏ
ⲉϧⲯⲓ	ⲛ	ⲧⲏ	ⲣⲁⲏⲏⲉ
ⲏⲕ · ⲕⲁ	ⲛⲉ	ⲕⲁ	ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲏ
ⲥ·ⲉⲓⲥⲏⲏⲟⲩ	ⲏⲏ	ⲗⲁⲏ	ⲧⲏⲥⲏⲉ
ⲏϩⲣⲁⲫⲁ	ⲧⲏⲣⲓ	ⲩⲧⲉ	ⲛⲉϥⲣⲣⲟ
ⲟⲉⲓⲥⲉ	ⲙⲱⲩ	ⲟⲣⲉ	ⲇⲩⲱⲟⲏ
ⲥⲁⲏⲏⲓ	ⲛⲟⲩ,	ⲟⲩⲏⲁⲓ	ⲥⲟⲛⲥ
·ϥⲕⲱ	ⲟⲥ ⲏⲏ	ⲉⲏⲟⲩ:-	ϩⲏⲏ
ⲱ	ⲁϥⲣⲏⲉ	ⲟ·ⲉⲱⲟⲛⲣ	ⲯⲁ

[1] I am deeply indebted to Prof. Ignazi Guidi for kindly lending me his copy of the proof sheets of Prof. Balestri's yet unpublished edition of the Borgian fragments of the Sahidic New Testament; and to Mr. A. Cowley for verifying several readings when I was unable to see the MSS. myself.

From *MS. Coptic, g.* 3. This fragment is also parchment and contains a reference to the worshipping of the golden calf. It is apparently part of a biography of a saint, or something similar. I only give one side, as the verso is not Biblical.

ⲣⲏⲏ

ⲁⲩⲣⲏⲉϥⲱⲃϣ
ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲏⲏⲟⲓⲏⲏ
ⲏⲁⲥⲉ · ⲁⲩϣⲏ
ϣⲉⲏⲏⲉϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ
ⲓⲏⲏⲉⲩⲥⲓⲭ : –
Ⲧⲉⲏⲟⲩⲟⲉⲏⲣⲣⲟ
ⲓⲏⲏⲣⲕⲱⲁⲩ
ⲓⲏⲏⲟⲓⲉⲩⲏ
ⲃⲱⲕⲉⲧⲁⲏ
ⲁⲓⲉⲭⲉⲏⲏⲉ
ⲉⲩⲁⲟⲝⲓⲁ · ⲣⲏ
ⲟⲩⲱϣ
ⲣⲉⲏ

In *MS. Coptic, g.* 3, there is a small fragment, not Biblical, but containing a quotation which it describes as uttered by ⲡϩⲓ[ⲉⲣⲟⲥ-ψⲁ ·]ⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲁⲩ[ⲓⲁ]. It is too small for me to identify it. It runs as follows :—

ϣⲁⲭⲉⲏⲏϩⲓ
ⲁⲧⲏⲥⲁⲁⲩ
ϥⲭⲟⲡⲏⲟⲥ
ϩⲉⲭⲉϩⲏⲏⲉ
ⲩⲣⲧⲏⲏⲁⲩ ⲁϥ
ⲁⲕⲟⲏⲟⲩⲏⲉϥⲏⲉⲉⲩⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

In the same box is another parchment fragment, which looks and reads, as far as I could read it, like part of a Psalm, but I could not actually identify it. It is divided into verses as the poetical Biblical books usually are.

ⲥⲟⲩⲭⲓⲛⲟ̀ⲟⲛⲥ
ⲙⲟⲉⲩ : :
ⲥⲡⲏⲣⲉϥⲣⲏⲟ
ⲭⲉⲥⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃ
·· ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲉⲣ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ϥⲧⲏⲁⲥⲁⲣⲝⲉⲃⲟⲗ · · ⲓ · ·
ϩⲟⲧⲉ
ϩⲟⲧⲉⲅⲁⲣϩⲏⲧⲟⲩⲛ ·
ⲋⲗ · ⲁⲡⲙⲏⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁ
ⲓ · ⲣⲧⲁⲁⲧⲏⲛⲉⲧⲭⲓⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ
ϣⲉⲡⲡⲉⲕϩⲙ̄ϩⲁⲗⲉⲣⲟⲕⲉⲩ
ⲙⲡⲣⲧⲣⲉⲛⲗⲁⲥϩⲏⲧ
ϩⲓⲗⲁⲥⲓⲟⲓ
ⲗⲛⲁⲃⲁ ⲥⲓⲗ

The verso is very illegible. I could only read, and that uncertainly :—

ⲟⲩⲥ

ⲓ̀ⲙⲓ ⲉⲱ
ⲛⲟⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩ
ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲩⲕ
ⲁⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲟⲛ
ⲧⲁⲕ · ⲣⲓⲉⲩⲓ
ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲁ
ⲁⲙⲓⲥⲁⲡⲟ ⲙⲙⲁ

To these Sahidic fragments of the Psalter I add the only Boheiric Biblical fragment I noticed. It comes from a paper fragment of a hymn to Mary, in *MS. Coptic*, *g.* 1.

ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇⲡⲉⲭⲉϥⲇⲉ
ⲡ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ̄ⲫϯⲥⲟⲧⲡⲏ̇
ⲥⲓⲟⲛⲛⲁϥⲡⲙⲉⲛ
ϣⲟⲡⲓ · ⲥⲓⲟⲛⲅⲁⲣ
ⲡⲓϯ ⲡ̄ⲁ̄ⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲁⲣⲓⲁ

The quotation is Psalm cxxxii, 13.

A parchment fragment from *MS. Coptic*, *g.* 3, containing Matthew ii, 13–15, 16–19 (*cf.* Woide, pp. 3, 4).

	VERSO.
ⲁⲓ	ϥ
ⲣⲉϣ	ⲁⲛⲁⲓ
ⲛⲧⲟϥ	ⲉⲁϥⲭⲱ
ⲱⲟⲩⲛⲁϥ	ⲁⲛ̇ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲉ̄ⲕ
ⲛⲣⲉϣⲛⲓⲙ	ⲟⲟϥϩⲓⲧⲛ̄
ⲙⲁⲁⲩⲛⲧⲉⲩ	ⲗⲁⲓⲁⲥⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟ
ⲃⲱⲕⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ	ⲧⲛⲥⲉϥⲭⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲛⲉϥϣ	ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ
ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲉⲧⲙ	ⲧⲙ̄ⲉⲣⲟⲥϩⲛ̄
ϣⲁⲛⲛⲉ ⲣ	ⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲙ
ⲟⲩⲭ ⲁⲥ	ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲉⲓⲧ
ⲭⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲛ	ϣⲱϥ · ϩⲣⲁ
ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ	ⲉⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉⲛⲛ
ϥϩⲓⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲉ	ⲛⲣⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲛⲥ · ⲉϥⲭⲱ	ⲉⲟⲩⲱϣ
ⲭⲉⲁⲓ	ⲥⲭⲉⲛⲓ
ϣⲏⲣⲉ	ⲉ · ⲛⲧ
ⲛⲙ	ⲗⲉ

A parchment fragment from *MS. Coptic*, *g.* 3, with two columns to the page, containing Matthew v, 11, 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25 (*cf.* Woide, p. 6; Balestri, pp. 5–6).

		ⲁⲓⲉⲓⲉⲕ	
ⲱⲧ	ⲧⲁⲗⲩⲛ̄ⲡⲛ	ⲟⲥⲙ	
ⲟⲩⲟⲗ'ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ	ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲓ	ⲥⲛ̄	
ⲛⲧ · ⲣⲁϣⲉⲛⲧⲉⲧ	ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲩⲛ̄		(ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓ.ⲱ, W.)
ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲉⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲕ	ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲁⲗⲗⲁⲉⲭⲟⲕⲟⲩ		
ⲛⲁϣⲱϥ'ϩⲣⲁⲓϩⲛ̄ⲛ̄	ⲉⲃⲟⲗ' · ϩⲁⲛⲏⲛϯⲭⲱ		
	ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲥⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲉϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ		(ⲭⲉⲣ̄ϣⲁⲛⲉϥⲱ,

The first column does not occur in Woide.

VERSO.

ⲛⲉⲕϩ
ⲱ ⲁⲉϥⲟⲛⲁⲛ ⲁ
ⲭⲟⲥⲉ ⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥⲁⲛⲟⲓⲕ ⲙⲛⲕϣⲟⲟ ⲛⲙ
ⲁⲉϯⲭⲱⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲥⲛⲏ ⲁϥϩⲓⲧⲉϩⲓⲛ̄ⲙⲏ
ⲧⲛ̄ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛⲛⲓⲙⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲧⲭⲓϩⲁⲡ (ⲉⲕⲱ, W.) (ⲉⲁϣⲟⲟⲡ, B.)
ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟ̄ⲥ̄ⲉⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲙ̄

The first column of the verso also does not occur in Woide, and has not, so far as I can find, been yet published. The second column is in Woide, and as there is considerable difference, I copy his version: "ⲭⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲕⲃⲏⲗ ⲛ̄ⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲁⲭⲉ · ⲉⲡϩⲟⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲕϩⲓⲧⲉϩⲓⲛ ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ · ⲙⲏ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲧⲁⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ."

Five parchment fragments from *MS. Coptic*, *g.* 3, which, fitted together, form a complete page, with double columns, containing Matthew xxvii, 23–39. The writing appears to be of the 5th century (*cf.* Woide, p. 38; Balestri, pp. 85–86).

ⲙⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ
ⲁⲁϥⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩⲇⲉⲛ̇
ϩⲟⲩⲟⲁⲩⲭⲓϣⲕⲁⲕ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲉⲩⲭⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ
ⲭⲉⲥ ⳨ ⲟⲩⲙⲙⲟϥ
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩⲇⲉⲛ̇
ⲧⲓⲡⲉⲓⲗⲁⲧⲟⲥⲭⲉⲁϥ
ⲛⲁϯ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ
ⲗⲗⲁⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩϣⲧⲟⲣ
ⲧⲣⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉⲛϩⲟⲩ
ⲟⲁϥⲭⲓⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩ
ⲁϥⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉϥϭⲓⲭ
ⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙ ϣ ϥ
ⲙⲙⲟⲥⲭ ⲟ
ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟϥ
ⲱⲧⲛ

ⲭⲉⲡⲉϥⲥⲛ
ⲭⲱⲛⲛⲙ

ⲃⲟⲗⲙⲃⲁⲣⲁⲃⲃⲁⲥ
ⲗⲉⲁϥⲙ
ⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲙⲙⲟϥⲭⲉⲭⲁ
ⲉⲥ ⳨ ⲟⲩⲙⲙⲟϥ
ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ

Col. I, l. 1. ⲡⲉⲛⲧ, W. B.
3. ⲛⲉⲩϫⲓ, W. B.
4. om. ⲉⲩϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ, W. B.
5. om. ⲙⲙⲟϥ, W. B.
om. ⲇⲉ, B.
7. ⲡⲓⲗ, W.; ⲛⲉϥ, W. B.
12. ⲙⲙⲉϥ, W. B.
19. ϩⲓ̈ϫⲱⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄, B.

Col. II, l. 1. ⲛⲃⲁⲣ, W. B.
3–5. ⲁⲩⲱⲁϥⲧⲗⲁϥⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲥϯⲟⲩ, W.; ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ⲇⲉⲁϥⲫ-
ⲣⲁⲧⲉⲗⲗⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ. ⲁϥⲧⲗⲁϥⲇⲉⲕⲁⲥ, B.
6. ⲙⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ, W.B.

VERSO.

ⲙ̇ⲙⲟϥⲉⲩϫⲱⲙⲙⲟⲥ
ϫⲉϫⲁⲓⲣⲉⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟⲛ
ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲁⲩⲛⲉϫⲡⲁϭ
ϭⲥⲉⲇⲉⲉϩⲟⲩⲛⲉϩⲣⲁϥ
ⲁⲩϫⲓⲙⲡⲕⲁϣⲁⲩ
ⲣⲱϩⲧⲙⲙⲟϥⲉϩⲣⲁ
ⲓ̈ⲉϫⲛⲧⲉⲩⲁⲙⲉ
ⲩⲥⲱⲃⲉ
ⲙⲙⲟϥⲁⲩⲕⲱⲙ
ⲙⲟϥⲕⲁϩⲛⲧⲛⲧⲉ
ϫⲗⲁⲙⲩⲥⲁⲩϯϩ ⲁⲥ
ⲛⲉϥϩⲟⲓⲧⲉ
ⲧⲃⲟ
ⲉⲥϯⲟⲩⲙⲙⲟϥ
ⲛⲏⲩⲇⲉⲉⲃⲟⲗⲁⲩϩⲉ
ⲉⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲛⲁⲓⲟⲥⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ
ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲇⲉ
ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲱϥⲉⲙⲙⲟϥ
ⲉ

ⲅⲟⲗⲅⲟⲟⲗⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲣⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩϯⲛⲁϥⲛⲟⲩⲏⲣⲡ
ⲉⲥⲟⲟϥⲉϥⲧⲏϩϩⲓⲟⲩ
ⲥⲓϣⲉⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲧⲟ
ⲡ̄ϥⲇⲉⲙⲡϥⲟⲩⲱϣ
ⲉⲥⲟⲟϥⲁⲩϯⲟⲩⲇⲉ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥⲁⲩⲡⲱϣ
ⲛⲛⲉϥϩⲟⲉⲓⲧⲉⲉϩⲣⲁⲩ
ⲁⲩⲛⲉϫⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲥⲉ
ϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩⲁⲩⲱ
ⲛⲉⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥⲡⲉⲉⲩ
ϩⲁⲣⲉϩⲉⲣⲟϥϩⲙⲡⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩⲁⲩⲕⲱⲇⲉ
ⲛⲧⲉϥⲁⲓ̈ⲧⲓⲁⲉⲥⲥⲏϩ
ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ⲉϫⲛⲧⲉϥⲁⲡⲉ
ϫⲉⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲡⲉⲓ̄ⲥ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
ⲙⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ̈ · ⲧⲟⲧⲉ
ⲁⲩⲥϯⲟⲩⲛⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ
ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲛⲉⲉⲛ
ⲓⲟⲩⲛ ⲟϥ
ⲁϩⲓϩⲃⲟⲩⲣ
ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ

COL. I.

L. 2. ⲙⲏ, W.; ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ, B.
4. ⲡⲁϣⲥⲉ, B.; om. ⲁⲉ, W. B.
6. om. ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈, B.
8. ⲥⲱⲃⲉⲁⲉ, W. B.
11. ϫⲁⲁⲙⲏⲥ, W.
16. ⲟⲩ, W.
18. ⲥⲙⲱⲛⲁⲩⲕⲱⲱⲃⲉ, W.; ⲁⲩⲕⲱⲱ̄ϥⲉⲁⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓ̈, B.

COL. II.

L. 2. ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲡⲟⲛ, W.
4. om ⲟⲩ, W. B.
6. ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲉϣ, W.; ⲡⲉϥ, B. ⲥ̄ϯⲟ̄ⲩⲁⲉ, B.
9. ϩⲟⲩⲧⲉ, W. B.
15. ⲁⲩϧⲁ (om. ⲉⲥⲥⲏϩ), B.
18. ⲙⲙ̈ⲟⲩ, W.; ⲙ̄ⲙⲉ̈ⲓⲟⲩ, B.
19. ⲙⲙⲁϥ, W.; ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ, B.

The remaining New Testament fragments, mainly fragments from the Acts of the Apostles, are reserved for another Article.

NOTES ON SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

BY STANLEY A. COOK, *M.A.*

IV.

4. ERRORS IN INSCRIPTIONS.—An inscription engraved upon durable material, the work of no little labour, set up (it may be) by royal command, and intended to serve as a memorial to succeeding generations, is surely one of the last places where one would expect to find errors. But complete accuracy was as unattainable then as it is now, and not a few inscriptions have fortunately survived containing remarkable spelling which can scarcely be due to design. I say "fortunately" because it is very important to bear in mind that mistakes could be, and actually were made, and although the chances of error are obviously by no means so great as in the case of a manuscript, it will be clear that in any discussion of difficult readings, the possibility of error must be duly considered by the epigraphist.

As regards the kind of mistakes that are made, Lidzbarski, in his almost exhaustive survey of North-Semitic epigraphy, enumerates eleven instances of the omission of letters.[1] One of these must be

[1] *Handbuch*, p. 128 *sq.*

considered doubtful. In l. 6 of the Eshmunazar inscription (*C.I.S.*, i, no. 3), אל תשמע בדנם might be interpreted "do not listen to their vain pratings" (cp. בד, Is. xvi, 6, etc.), but most scholars treat the last word as an error for בדברנם, "their words." Mr. G. A. Cooke, for example,[2] adopts the latter view and points to the use of שמע with the preposition (בקול) in Gen. xxii, 18: 2 Sam. xii, 18; etc. This, however, is not decisive, and the frequently occurring Phoenician phrase שמע קל[3] shows that Phoenician favours the use of שמע with the accusative. In addition to this, the appearance of such a word as בד in the eloquent inscription of Eshmunazar can cause no surprise, and on the whole I do not find it necessary to include the passage under discussion among the epigraphical errors.

To these ten examples two are to be added. In the inscription from the Piraeus, דרכמנם (l. 6) appears as דרכנם (l. 3), and in the Tabnith inscription אלינל, as parallels show, must stand for אל יכן לך, "let there not be to thee." The omission of whole words occurs seven or eight times in Punic and once in Nabataean. Additions of single letters arise mainly through dittography, and twice the word for "son" (בן, בר) is repeated. Four certain examples of the metathesis of letters are cited, and there is one practically certain example in a Palmyrene inscription of the metathesis of words. Examples of a letter wrongly exchanged for another are not rare (about fifteen cases), and more than half are due to the close similarity between the two. Finally, it may be added as a curiosity that one Nabataean inscription (*C.I.S.* ii, 207), the handiwork of three stone-cutters (פסליא), in spite of the "multitude of counsellors," contains no fewer than three mistakes, viz.: אחתה for אחותה, ביה for בירה, and עבו for עבדו. In a recently edited New Punic inscription, a short one, there are also three simple errors, מגב apparently for מגן, אד for אש, and בן for פן.

In all these cases the error is easily recognisable; the word or formula is so familiar that the merest tyro can perceive the mistake, but no one can venture to assert that the list of errors is exhausted. What are we to say of the unfortunately too numerous texts whose interpretation still escapes us, of the too frequent passages with unknown words? Are these to be free from textual criticism? No

[2] *Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 35.

[3] For the various forms of the phrase, see Lidzbarski, p. 155. Cp. also כשמע קל דברי, "because he heard the voice of his words."

one, perhaps, will suppose that by some happy chance the men who were responsible for the preparation of these texts erred only in the simple words or phrases, and unless one is prepared to admit the possibility of error, many readings in the inscriptions will continue to defy interpretation in spite of the exercise of the greatest philological ingenuity, and a liberal and uncritical use of the dictionaries of all the Semitic languages and dialects.

In conclusion, it is hardly necessary to observe that textual criticism, if applied to the inscriptions, should be applied with the same caution, and *mutatis mutandis* upon the same lines, as in manuscript texts. It is only as a last resource and when the general character of the inscription arouses suspicion that emendations are to be tolerated.

To take one example only, the famous Eshmunazar inscription is, perhaps, the most important, the most interesting, and the most difficult of Phoenician texts. The happy discovery of some royal Sidonian inscriptions in 1900–1902 established certain readings, but a great deal still remains obscure. Now, in l. 15 אם is written for אש, and ממלכת (*e.g.*, l. 10) appears once as ממלך (l. 9), and once as ממלת (l. 11); that בדנם (l. 6) is an error for בדברנם is, as we have seen, improbable. But these mistakes, such as they are, are sufficient to cast doubt upon the complete accuracy of the inscription elsewhere, and it is not very easy to resist the belief that were we better acquainted with Phoenician, other errors could at once be recognized.

The difficult נחן, in l. 12, has never been very satisfactorily explained: l. 12 runs:

כ אנך נחן נגלת בל עתי בן · · · · בן אלמת אנך

In ll. 2–3, on the other hand, we have:

(לאמר) נגזלת בל עתי בן · · · · בן אלמת אנך

No interpretation of נחן (pitied, resting?) is free from objection, and the comparison with ll. 2–3 suggests that it is to be omitted as an error. Possibly the engraver started with writing נגזלת incorrectly, and wrote out the word afresh. Analogies could be cited from Old Testament readings. Here, at all events, appears to be a case where textual criticism must be applied, and a close study of the inscription suggests that at least one other example of inaccuracy could be found

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C., on Wednesday, November 9th, 1904, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Prof. E. Naville.—"A mention of a flood in the Book of the Dead."

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ERRATUM.

THE KINGS OF ABYDOS.

"*Proceedings*," May, 1904.

Page 140. Fourth line of Table, column 3—

for I. *read* I.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members having duplicate copies, will confer a favour by presenting them to the Society.

AMÉLINEAU, Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
——— La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
——— La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte.
——— Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos.
BAETHGEN, Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte. Der Gott Israels und die Götter der Heiden.
Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
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,, ,, Griechische und Koptische Urkunden.
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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1904.

Sixth Meeting, November 9th, 1904.

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

OBITUARY.

July 8th, 1904—
SIR W. T. CHARLEY, *K.C.*

August, 1904—
PROF. DR. KARL PIEHL.

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From F. Legge.—"A Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms in the British Museum."

" "A Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms in the British Museum."

From the Rt. Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney.—"The Amherst Papyri (Greek)," by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. 2 vols.

From the Author, Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann.—"Ägyptische Religion."

From the Authoress, The Lady Amherst of Hackney.—"A Sketch of Egyptian History."

From the Authoress, The Lady William Cecil.—"Bird Notes from the Nile."

From the Author, Prof. Ira M. Price.—"Literary Remains of Rim-Sin (Arioch) king of Larsa."

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society :—

Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, 1 Mozart Strasse, Jena.

C. J. Marshall, Balvaird, Cheam, Surrey.

E. O. Winstedt, *M.A.*, 51 South Street, St. Andrews.

The following Paper was read :—

Prof. E. Naville : "A mention of a Flood in the Book of the Dead."

The subject of the Paper was discussed by Dr. Pinches, Mr. Boscawen, Dr. Gaster, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

UNE HYPOTHÈSE AU SUJET DE LA VOCALISATION ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR VICTOR LORET.

Dans les quelques lignes que j'ai dernièrement consacrées ici-même[1] à la transcription de l'égyptien, j'ai émis, sans y insister, une idée qui a pu, selon qu'on s'y est arrêté ou non, paraître bien téméraire ou très insignifiante. Je me demandais s'il n'était pas possible qu'une voyelle, écrite *à la fin* d'un mot égyptien, pût être considérée comme représentant la vocalisation *interne* de ce mot et dût, par conséquent, dans la transcription ou dans la lecture, être transposée et reportée à l'intérieur du mot. A l'appui de cette règle toute conjecturale, je donnais, au hasard de la plume, les quatre exemples suivants :

se lit *hour* (ⲏⲟⲩ, *accipiter*) et non *hrou*,

se lit *haus* (ϩⲱⲥ, *filum*) et non *hsau*,

se lit *anup* (Ἄνουβ-ις) et non *anpu*,

se lit *shaus* (ϣⲱϣ, *bubalus*) et non *shsau*.

Si une telle règle pouvait être solidement établie, elle aurait une importance extrême, car elle nous donnerait, de la façon la plus simple et la plus inattendue, la solution du problème si compliqué de la vocalisation égyptienne. Or, en recherchant de nouveaux exemples en faveur de mon hypothèse et en m'efforçant de me représenter exactement la tâche devant laquelle se trouvaient les premiers Egyptiens qui employèrent l'écriture, il m'a paru que cette hypothèse pourrait peut-être bien, un jour, devenir le point de départ de résultats féconds.

C'est parmi les substantifs, naturellement, que j'ai tout d'abord recherché des exemples, afin d'éviter les erreurs d'appréciation que peuvent amener les désinences si variables et si multiples des formes

[1] *Proceedings*, Vol. XXV, pp. 368–370.

verbales. Et même, pour plus de sûreté, ce sont des noms propres que j'ai recueillis pour commencer, des noms de divinités et de localités. Voici, en premier lieu, quelques bons exemples de noms divins :

= ANOUP. J'avais seulement comparé ce nom à Ἀνουβ-ις ; on peut, plus exactement encore, le rapprocher du nom propre Ἀνούπ, si fréquent dans les papyrus grecs (*Oxyrh. pap.*, I, 256).

= MOUNT. Comparer = Φθω-μῶνθ-ης (*Proceed.*, XXV, 329) et Ἑρ-μωνθ-ίς, ⲁⲣ-ⲙⲟⲛⲑ, la ville de *Mount*.

= KHNOUM. Comparer Πα-χνοῦμ-ις (WILCK., *Gr. Ostr.*, II, 478), Πετε-χνοῦμ-ις (*ibid.*, 480), Ψεν-χνοῦμ-ις (*ibid.*, 486).

= TOUM. Comparer = ⲡⲓ̀ⲑⲱⲙ, ⲡⲉ-ⲑⲱⲙ, Πά-τουμ-ος (HEROD., II, 158), Πα-τούμ-ιος (STEPH. BYZ.), Thum (ITIN. ANT.).

= AMOUN. Cette orthographe complète du nom , ordinairement écrit sans vocalisation, se trouve au *Livre des pyramides* (Pépi I, 266 ; Mir., 478 ; Pépi II, 1246). Comparer Ἀμοῦν (*Isid. et Osir.*, 9), Ψεν-αμοῦν-ις (WILCK., *Gr. Ostr.*, II, 485 ; *Oxyrh. pap.*, I, 261).

= KHOUNS. Comparer Πετε-χῶνσ-ις (WILCK., *ibid.*, II, 480), Ψεν-χῶνσ-ις (*ibid.*, 486) et plusieurs autres noms propres présentant la même terminaison χῶνσις (*Proceed.*, XXV, 331).

En y ajoutant = HOUR (حُرّ),[2] nous obtenons

[2] En plus du terme arabe حُرّ, la vocalisation en *ou* du nom d'Horus est bien nettement indiquée dans des transcriptions comme دمنهور = , شنهور = (H. BRUGSCH, *Zeitschr.*, 1886, p. 76).

sept noms divins, et non des moindres, dont la vocalisation interne, d'après les transcriptions, est en *o*, *ω* ou *ov* et dans lesquels l'écriture égyptienne exprime cette vocalisation 𓅱 à la fin du mot.

Les trois noms de villes suivants présentent bien nettement la même particularité graphique :

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = KHMOUN. Comparer ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ et اشمون (dans اشمونين).

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = AOUN. Comparer און, אֹן, grec Ὤν, copte ⲱⲛ.

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = TIN. Comparer Θῖς [= Θίν-ς] (STEPH. BYZ.), Θιν-ίτης νομός (PTOL.), Θιν-ός (C. MÜLLER, *Ptol. geogr.*, I, 720).

Dans les noms communs que j'énumère ci-dessous, j'ai pris soin de ne choisir que des exemples employés au singulier, afin qu'aucune confusion ne pût se produire entre le 𓅱 de la vocalisation interne et le 𓅱 de la désinence plurielle :

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 (Pap. Anast. IV, 7, 2) = KAOUM, ϭⲱⲙ, *hortus.*

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = ÀOUBN, ⲱⲃⲉⲛ, *alumen.*

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = HANTAOUS, ⲁⲛⲑⲟⲩⲥ, *lacerta.*

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = PA-HAOUF, ⲡ-ϩⲟⲫ, *serpens.*[3]

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = SHOUD, ϩⲱⲧ, ϧⲟⲧ, *uter.*

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = IÂM ⲓⲁⲙ, יָם, *mare.*

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = IÀOUM, ⲓⲟⲙ, يوم (dans فيوم), *mare.*

𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱𓅱 = ÀBIR, אַבִּיר, *equus.*

[3] Ce mot doit se distinguer, par le genre et par le sens, de ⲧ-ϩⲫⲱ, *vipera.*

= SHAOUS, ϣωϲ, *pastor*, ὑκ-σως.

(Masp., *Rec.*, XV, 192) = BAOUK, ϐωκ, *servus*.

(Masp., *Rec.*, XIX, 159) = TAOUSH. ϑωϣ, ⲧⲟϣ, *finis, terminus*.

(Z., XXXIX, 128) = DJAPOUH, תַּפּוּח, *malum, malus arbor*.

= MAÏK, ⲙⲏⲟϩⲓⲕ, *stercus, fimus*.

= QAM. ⲕⲁⲙ, *juncus*.

QÀM, ⲕⲁⲙ, *juncus*.

= SESHNIN, شنين (dans بَشْنِين), *nymphæa*.

= ÀOUB, ωϐ, *lactuca*.

= HABIN, ἐβεν-ος, *ebenus*.

= SHOUN-IT, ϣⲉⲛⲓⲧ, شونة, *horreum*.

= NOUR, ϯ-ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓ, *vultur*.[4]

= ABOUD, ⲉⲫⲱⲧ, *testudo niliaca*.

= HOUR-IT, ϩⲟⲗⲓ, *tinea*.

= KHATOUR, ϣⲁϑⲟⲩⲗ, *ichneumon*.

= ÀOUD, ωⲧ, *adeps*.

Enfin, les textes égyptiens nous présentent parfois un même mot écrit de deux manières différentes, la vocalisation interne étant exprimée tantôt à la fin du mot, tantôt à sa place réelle :

[4] Le mot NOUR, masculin en égyptien, est devenu féminin en copte.

(*Pap. Anast.*, IV, 15, 9) = (*Pap. math.*, XIX), *caille.*

(L. D., *Textb.*, I, 100) = (*Amamu*, XXVII, 12), *autruche.*

(Champ., *Not.*, II, 619) = (*Kahun pap.*, I, 5), *nœud coulant.*

(W. Max Müller, *Z.*, XXXII, 33) = (*ibid.*), *figue.*

(Br., *Suppl.*, 165) = (*ibid.*, 164), *schène.*

(Budge, *Todt.*, 262) = (Mar., *Cat. Abyd.*, no. 1115), *couronne.*

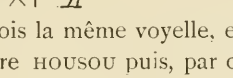
En procédant méthodiquement au dépouillement du vocabulaire on pourrait, je crois, augmenter très considérablement les listes que je viens de donner. Telles qu'elles sont, elles me semblent néanmoins suffisantes pour nous montrer que dans bien des mots égyptiens, la prétendue finale ne trouve pas son équivalent en copte, tandis que la voyelle interne, exprimée en copte, n'a pas son équivalent en égyptien, anomalie qui disparaît le plus simplement et le plus naturellement du monde si l'on déplace la voyelle finale égyptienne pour la reporter à l'intérieur du mot.

Sans vouloir pour le moment m'attaquer au verbe, dont les désinences peuvent souvent prêter à discussion quant à leur valeur grammaticale, je me contenterai de signaler les noms propres terminés en et .

Le premier de ces mots se trouve former la partie terminale du nom dont les transcriptions grecques à moi connues sont Ἀμενώθ. Φαμενώθ, Ἀμενώθης ; Φαμενώφ, Ἀμενῶφις ; Ἀμενῶφθις, Ἀμενώφθης. Ces formes grecques nous montrent que, si les transcripteurs ont hésité sur la manière de rendre les consonnes ⌓ ▯,— qu'ils ont interverties ou dont ils ont supprimé tantôt l'une et tantôt l'autre,—ils ont toujours été d'accord pour placer la vocalisation

avant les lettres ⌓ ▯ et pour l'exprimer par un ⲱ. La conclusion est que, dans ce nom, 𓏏𓅱𓏏𓄿 doit se transcrire *houtp* et non *htpou*.

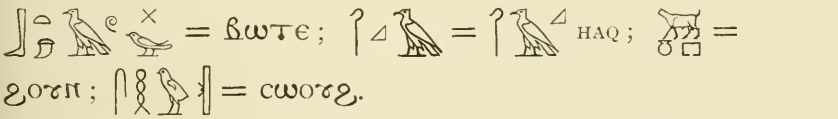
Il en est de même pour le nom de la ville d'Hypsélis, 𓉐𓉐𓉐𓅱𓇋𓏏𓏏𓏏

voyelle finale est tombée avant l'époque des transcriptions grecques et coptes, on arrive pratiquement au même résultat. Au lieu de transcrire directement  par HOUS, on raisonnera ainsi : "Le mot ayant deux fois la même voyelle, et la dernière seule étant écrite, doit se transcrire HOUSOU puis, par chute de la finale, HOUS (ϩⲱⲥ, ϩⲟⲩⲥ)." Le résultat, évidemment, est le même, mais la façon dont il est amené suppose un mécanisme orthographique et une évolution linguistique qui, peut-être, resteraient à démontrer.

Il est vrai que l'on peut m'adresser la même objection et me demander d'expliquer pourquoi les Egyptiens, au lieu d'écrire la voyelle interne à l'intérieur du mot, ont préféré, dans la plupart des cas, la placer à la fin. C'est donc le motif possible de cet étrange mécanisme orthographique qu'il me reste à rechercher.

Il y a neuf ou dix ans, M. W. Max Müller, dans son article *Die Umstellungen in der altägyptischen Orthographie*,[7] signalait un certain nombre de mots orthographiés de telle façon qu'il était nécessaire, lui semblait-il, pour les lire correctement, d'y intervertir l'ordre de certaines lettres. Déjà, deux ans auparavant,[8] il avait exposé brièvement sa théorie et elle avait été, dit-il, en partie admise dans la première édition de l'*Ægyptische Grammatik* d'Erman (§ 62).

M. Max Müller ne s'attache pas spécialement aux voyelles, et encore moins aux voyelles finales ; il montre simplement que, dans les exemples qu'il a réunis,—et auxquels je renvoie le lecteur,—il y a interversion orthographique. Parmi ces exemples, je citerai seulement les suivants, qui rentrent dans le sujet qui nous occupe :

 = ϩⲱⲧⲉ ; = HAQ ; = ϩⲟⲩⲛ ; = ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ.

Plus récemment, dans un très intéressant article sur les *Métathèses apparentes en égyptien*,[9] M. Pierre Lacau a repris le même sujet et montré que les transpositions de lettres sont très fréquentes dans l'orthographe égyptienne et qu'elles résultent, le plus souvent, du

[7] *Zeitschr.*, XXXII (1894), pp. 27–35.
[8] *Zeitschr.*, XXX (1892), p. 59.
[9] *Rec.*, t. XXV (1903), pp. 139–161.

désir d'éviter les blancs dans l'écriture et d'obtenir des groupements plus satisfaisants à l'œil. C'est ainsi que \\, , , sont écrits pour \\, (désin. fém. plur.), , qu'ils remplacent avantageusement au point de vue esthétique. De même, le mot , groupe gauche et laid, laissant un vide au-dessus et au-dessous du , s'écrit le plus souvent et , tout en conservant la même lecture OUÀH.[10] De même enfin,—et la constatation est intéressante au sujet de la date de l'introduction du Lin en Egypte,[11]— est écrit pour , qui offrirait un aspect défectueux.

Pour M. Lacau, comme on le voit, c'est,—du moins dans les exemples nombreux qu'il a rassemblés,—le désir de carrer les signes qui a produit des métathèses orthographiques. M. Max Müller, qui admet aussi cette raison d'esthétique, y ajoute, pour quelques cas, l'habitude qu'avaient les Egyptiens d'employer le plus fréquemment possible des syllabiques, et l'impossibilité dans laquelle ils étaient souvent, par suite du nombre restreint de syllabiques réels, d'en trouver qui eussent la valeur désirée. Dans ces cas, ils remplaçaient le syllabique qui leur faisait défaut par un syllabique renfermant les mêmes éléments, mais dans un ordre inverse. Ainsi, dans , qui est mis pour , on a utilisé le faute d'un syllabique FA ou AK.[12]

[10] M. Lacau cite la forme comme indispensable à la transition entre et , mais il déclare n'en avoir rencontré aucun exemple (*loc. cit.*, p. 155, n. 4). J'en trouve deux exemples dans mes notes: (L. D., II, 92) et (*Miss. du Caire*, I, 205).

[11] Le Lin, on le sait, est originaire de l'Asie Mineure et de la Syrie septentrionale.

[12] *Zeitschr.*, XXXII, p. 27.

(*To be continued.*)

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

II.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce, *D.D.*, *&c.*

Once on the right track, progress is always inevitable, even with imperfect and not always trustworthy materials. So it is not surprising that I can now build considerably on the foundations I laid two years ago of the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions; I am at last in a position to throw light on some of the historical and theological questions connected with them.

First for corrections:—

(1) The knife, No. 11 in my Table of Characters, has the value of *ma*, or possibly *mu*, not *si*. Nor does it mean "to destroy," but "to execute," "build." Hence it is combined ideographically with No. 10 of the determinatives (), where the instrument held in the hand is the plough (No. 13), the symbol of "what is constructed" or "worked." The character, accordingly, is the determinative of building, not of authority. In the Hamath inscriptions, therefore (Messerschmidt IV, A. 2, B. 2), *ya*-ID. ID.-*mae* is, "I have erected for the land (the walls (?) of the city of Hamath"); M. V, 1, 2, 3 reads, D.P. *Am-ma-ar-mi-is-m-a* D.P. *Katu-ya am-me-ya atu-ya Am-ma-ta-ya-ma-a ise-ya mis* (?)-*ta* ID.-ID.-*misê m-ie-mis* . . . *ma-a* AMMA-*am-ya m-n-ya* DET. AMMA-*amma-nas am-mis* ID.-*na-i-sê* DET. *am-mis a-m-a am-me-ya isê-ya*, "a Kataonian in the Amorite-land, priestly, kingly, in the land of the Hamathites supreme. I (?) have firmly (?) built . . . a man of Amma in the land of . . . ; I have founded the cities of Amma for the gods (and) cities for myself, the priestly, the supreme;" while M. VI, 4 is *va*-ID.-ID.-*mise m-ie*-DET. *ise-ta*, "I (?) have built in the upper land," where *ya* seems to denote a causative. Similarly the shorter

Hamath texts end with the words, "I have restored in the temple what he of the land of Sanda-games (?) had founded," and M. XVI, 1 begins with, "these gates I have built."

That the knife has the value of *ma* (or *mu*) results from a comparison of certain passages in which I had previously mistaken the order of the signs. Now that the foundations of the decipherment are laid, I shall give only the references to the passages compared together in Messerschmidt's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*, leaving it to my readers to verify the facts. For the knife the references are M. XXI (App.) 2 (*amm-a*-MA-*mis-si-is*[1] . . . *a-m*-MA-*s*); 3 (DET.-DIRK-MA-*nas*), compared with VI, 2 (DET.-DIRK-*me-n-n*); II, 5 (ID-*amma*-MA-*i-s*). It is followed sometimes by the vowel *i* (*e.g.*, M. XXXIII, 1), and there are reasons which make me believe that the vowel represented by it was *u*.

(2) The word for "city" was not *ara* or *aram*, but *a*(*m*)*ma*, *a*(*m*)*me*, plural *a*(*m*)*mis*. Hence the values assigned to Nos. 33 and 34 in my Table must be corrected. So, too, the boot (No. 26), when used ideographically had the value of *amma*, "the earth;" phonetically it might be either *ma* or *mi* or *amma* and, I think, also *u*; but that it ever was *u* I have no clear proof.

For the boot, see M. VIII, A. 4 (ANA-*m*-AMMA-*a-mis*), compared with 2 (ID.-*ana-m-m-a*-AM-*mis*) and B. 4 (ANA-AM-*m-ma-yas*); XI, 4 (*ya*-AMMA-*m-a*), compared with H. VI, 2 (*ya-m-a*), etc.; XXXII, 3 (ID.-*sis* (?) *ma-m-n*-DET.), compared with VIII, B. 4 (ID.-*mis m*-AMMA-*n*); and in I, 3, VIII, A. 2, XLVI 3, we have the variant spellings *a-na-am*-(AM)MA-*mis*, *ana-m-m-a-am-mis*, *ana-m*-AMMA-*m-a*.

For the bull's head (No. 34), compare II, 1, IX, 2, XIX, A. 2, XXI, 2, and for the plough (No. 33) see VI, 4, VII, I, 1, etc. In XLVI, 1 the compound ideograph of city "plough + place," which is separated into two characters at the end of M. VI, 5, is followed by its phonetic reading *ma-mis*; cp. II, 5. *Amma* or *ama* in the oblique case seems to be used adverbially with the names of towns: it is written sometimes *a*-ID., sometimes ID.-*a*. The nominative singular is *amis*, the accusative plural being *ames*. Hence we can now understand the names of two Hittite towns which follow one another in the geographical lists of Ramses III, Tarkhais, "belonging to Tarkus." and Ames-Tark(i), "the city of Tarkus." By the side of *amis*, which must be related to *amma* "the earth," we find *mes*

[1] In the next line we have a different form, *amm-a-si-yas*.

or *mis*, "city," which may be a contracted form of *amis*, as *ma*, "place," seems to be of *amma*. Thus we have *me-is* in XIX, B. 7, after what may be "the land of Gurgum." The genitive *me-i* occurs in the second line of the inscription ("I am the priest, the dirk-bearer of the land, the king of the city, . . . kas"), and we have the accusative *me-i-n* M. II, 2, 3, and elsewhere. These two lines read: (DET.) *a-me-i Tu-a-tue-s Kal-kase-na-a-ni-s ara-mi-i-s a-ma-mis* (DET.) *Sanda-gam* (?)-*m-a-ni-s Sanda-s ara-mi-i kai-m(is)-is a-tu* (DET.) *me-i-n* (DET.) **-mi-i-n ara-me-i-n ana-ni-i-n kali* (?)-*n-si-n*, "I (am) Tuates of the land of Kalkas (Egyptian Kalkesh), chief of the city of Sanda-gamas (?). Sandes (it is) who has made for the prince the king's city, rich (?), royal, powerful, priestly (?)." At the end of the inscription Sandes is described as the builder of the city of Kate . . ama. In line 5 of the inscription we find the oblique case of the adjective derived from *mes*, ID.-*mâ-mis kais ab* (?)-*i* ID.-*ana-ya-i me-ya-i*, "buildings making for the chief priest belonging to the city of . . ana." Phonetically the plough may represent *mis*, *is* and even *mi* or *me*; thus in XIX, B. 9 it is replaced by *is* in the word *a*-(AM)MA-*is-ma-a-na*, compared with *a*-(AM)MA-*-m-s* (IX, 5, XV, 2), where we should doubtless read *amis-mes* "the citizen." Hence in IX, 2, 3 we have the spelling *a-am*-(A)MIS-*me-yas*-DET. (*ameyas*), "belonging to the city."

(3) No. 30, the couch, is not *lu*, but is the linear form of the character which has the value of *ar* in the name of Mer'ash, *Ma-ar-gha-asis-is* (M. XXI, 2).

(4) No. 9, the ass's head, is not *as* but *mis*. It interchanges with the suffix *mis*, *mes*, *e.g.*, M. IX, 2 (*ara-mis*), compared with line 3 (*ara-mes*), XI, 5 (*anammâ-mis*), compared with I, 3 (*anamma-mis*, and with *meyas* in II, 1, XIX, A. 2 (*am-meyas*), compared with IX, 2 (*am*-MIS-*me-yas*).

Now for novelties:—

(1) The stool or cushion has the value of *amma*, which, as Kretschmer has shown, interchanges in Asia Minor with *mama* and *ma*. It is a new character, to be added to my Table, and must be carefully distinguished from (Nos. 48, DET. 18), the symbol of supremacy. At Gurun it represents the name of the mother-goddess, and in M. XVIII, A. 4 and B. 6 (according

to Prof. Ramsay's photographs and drawings) is followed by (*a*)*m-ma*-MIS and *m-s*-MIS. At Fraktin the high-priest of the goddess, who wears the same dress as the goddess herself,[2] bears a name which is compounded with that of the goddess.[3]

At Boghaz Keui the chief goddess, who advances on the back of a lion or leopard to meet the chief god, and has his goat at her side, bears the name of *Ma-m*-AMMA, which is more probably to be read Amma than Mama.[4] It must be the stool, and not the symbol of supremacy as I supposed, that is held under the determinative of deity in the left hand of the statue of the goddess from Carchemish now in the British Museum. She represented the earth, and hence was called Amma, "the earth." She was also the mother-goddess, and since the character *ma*, "place," was regarded by the first students of the Hittite inscriptions as a picture of the female organ, it is possible that the Hittite words for "mother" and "earth" closely resembled each other, and that owing to this resemblance in sound the character which originally denoted "mother" came to signify "place." The statue of the Carchemish goddess has in the right hand a plough, the emblem of the city and agriculture. while under the feet are waves of water.

[2] This was the universal Asianic custom; *see* Ramsay: *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, p. 56. The ministers of the goddess Ma, Strabo tells us, were priests, not priestesses, and the *abaklés* was at the head of them. It will be noticed, however, that the high-priest at Fraktin, though he wears the dress of the goddess, has the tiara of a man and not the mural crown of a goddess. Perrot drew attention to the same fact at Boghaz Keui.

[3] It seems to read Isimamme(s). It is followed by the title "High-priest of the goddess [Amma] in the land of Arinna" or "the Saros." The geographical name is written SAR-*ar-n*, but since the arm (No. 2 of the IDEOGRAPHS) represented *ara-mis*, "king," of which the borrowed Assyrian *sar-mes* was the equivalent, it is probable that the phonetic complement *ar* is intended to indicate that such is its pronunciation here. Arinna was not far from Fraktin and Kibsu or Kabessos, as we learn from Tiglath-pileser I, and it is mentioned in the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites, as well as in one of the cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui. The name means simply "the royal town" and may very well represent the classical Komana (now Shar on the Sarran-Su), which is a country and not a city in the Assyrian texts. The name of Saros given to the river would be a translation of the native Aramis, derived from the Assyrian settlers in the adjoining province of Muzri.

[4] In M. XXXI, C. 2, however, we have the name of the city AMMA-*as-s-a*, which I think must be the Momoasson or Mammassos of classical geography, now Mammasun, near Argustama, and twelve miles east of Archelais (called Garsaura by the natives). Andaval, where the inscription was found, is only a few miles distant.

It would seem, therefore, that the earth was believed to rest upon the primæval waters. This will explain the legend at Mabug, the successor of Carchemish, that a hole underneath the temple communicated with the waters which had once burst forth and covered the earth. Amma, by the way, is identified with Hêra by the pseudo-Lucian in his description of the temple at Mabug.

(2) A new character, the arched throne,[5] , must be added to my Table, with the value of *isi*, and the signification of "high." Representing it by "ID.," we find in M. XXI, 4, ID.-*me-is*, with the determinative of "king," XXI, 5, *i*-ID.-*si-ma-i*, XXI, 6, *i*-ID.-*si-m-a-na-i*, XXIII, A. 2, ID.-*e*-MA-*ma*. Hence the phonetic value of the character is *isi*; *isi-mes* with the suffix *mes*, "belonging to," is the equivalent of "king," the "high one," and *isi-ma* or *ise-ma* is "high-place," the passage in M. XXI, 6, reading *ta-mes isi-manai* D.P. *Katu*-MI-*is-s*, "the priest of the high-place of the Kataonian god." Id. 13 in my Table seems to be the same character with the plough inserted, perhaps in order to express the phonetic value *is*.

Isima is written phonetically in M. IX, 4, where we have [*issim*]-*a-ta*-DET. ID.-ID. *kai*-DET.-*ma is-si-m-a-ta*-DET. *ama*-DET. *is-si-m-a-ta*-DET. ID.-*a-gal-ma k-a-i-mis*, "having made on the high-place a building, on the high-place a town, on the high-place a . . . ."

(3) In M. XIV, 7, 2 we find the ideograph of "chief" (*aramis*) followed by the "horseshoe" and *ma*, which I propose to read *isi-ma*, and translate "chief of the high-place," for the following reason. The character which I would make *isi* appears to have much the same meaning as the symbol of supremacy (Det. 18) in X, 2, and at Ivris the latter is actually engraved according to the squeeze, though the rudeness of the sculpture prevents me from laying much stress upon this. The "horseshoe" also represents a suffix, which, as we shall see, is that of the

[5] Or is it a ladder? See M. II, 3, 4, where the meaning must be something like "I have built the lofty chambers (?) of . . . , the lofty chambers (?) of wood (and) the lofty chambers (?) of cut stone." *Limâs*, which I have rendered "chambers" (?), is some kind of structure, as the determinative of building is attached to it, and in M. XI, 3 we have the first person of the cognate verb (*li-ya*), followed by the words "the chapel of the Temple of . . ." In II, 3 the compound verb occurs, *misni-liya*, the first element of which, derived from the root *mis*, "to build," claims kinship with *mossyn*, which we are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I, 26, see Strab., 549) was the Moschian word for a "wooden house."

patronymic. It occurs at the end of names on seals, where the case must be either the nominative or the genitive (M. XLI, 1, *Ai-mâ-isi*, Ἀιμασὸς in the Greek Cilician inscriptions, and a seal belonging to M. de Clercq, with the name *Tu-isi*, the Thoas of the Greek Cilician inscriptions). Perhaps the symbol of supremacy had also *isi* as one of its values.

(4) In M. X I have discovered the name of the father of Khala-lulme (?). The royal titles are twice repeated in the inscription, the second time in lines 8, 9, after a word or name formed of four characters and a suffix. The second, third and fourth characters are *ta-a-li*; the first is the knife which we now know had the value of *mâ* or *mu*. The name is, therefore, the well-known Hittite name Mutalli.

This explains the repetition of the royal titles, and gives us at last the Hittite patronymic suffix. It is denoted by the "horse-shoe" I have been just discussing. The whole inscription in which the name of Mutallis is found thus becomes clear, and I would translate it as follows :—

"The dirk-bearer of Carchemish, of the land of Ammes[6] and of the land of Kas. Khala-lulme (?) the great prince am I; superintendent of the sacred tree of Aramis, supreme over the Nine, to whom Khala has given the Kassite, the high-priest . . . the king am I; priest of the nine great gods, loving the nine sanctuaries,[7] royal, princely; in the shrine (?) of the sacred stone these (*neyas*) *agal-amma* I have constructed (*khal-li-a*); the son of Mutallis the kingly, the powerful prince [of the land of Kas?], the great prince am I."

Here *agal-amma* is represented by the same ideograph—a cross

[6] The head of the heifer has the value of *am* in VIII, A. 2, etc., and of *mes* in XXXIII, A. 2, 3, and as it forms part of the words *anammammes*, *ana(m)mis* and *arra(m)mis*, it is clear that its full value must be *ammes* or *ammis*. The country is, therefore, the Ammo of Numb. xxii, 5, from which Balaam (the Balummê of the Tel el-Amarna tablets), a native of Pethor on the Sajur, is said to have come. In XI, 3, instead of Ammes we have "place of the double city." There was another Amma-us, further north, adjoining Mildis or Milid, which Tiglath-pileser I conquered; the final -us of this name corresponds with the *-mis*, written with the boot, of ordinary Hittite. A similar correspondence meets us in the Hittite *amma-na*, "country," compared with Mitannian *uwi-ni* and Vannic *eba-ni*. I should add that in XVI, A. 1 the plough is the phonetic complement of Ammes, the name reading Ammes-MES-*na*, "of the land of Ammes."

[7] Or, perhaps, "the Nine of the Sanctuary."

with equal arms—as in IX, 4 (*see* above, and cp. VI, 4, and XXIII, A. 2, as well as VIII, A. 5). What it pictures I do not know, but a similar cross is characteristic of Babylonian seal-cylinders of the Kassite period. The meaning of *neyas* is given by M. XV, A. 2, *ne-ta* with the ideograph of the demonstrative (No. 58) prefixed, and VIII, B. 4, "440 royal cities these" (*n-i-yas*).[8] *Khallia* is a first person, usually represented by *-ya*; the verb is found in M. I, 1, *khalê-i-mes ka*-KASE-*se-ma i-yas-i-ma*, "constructing the . . . of the temple," where its signification must be something like that which I have assigned to it.

If the patronymic suffix has the value of *isi* (or *isis*?), we need no longer assign to *Aimgala-sis* in M. XXXII, 1, and XXXIV, A. 2, the vague meaning of "belonging to the family of Aimgalas;" both Sandaitis at Bulgar Maden and Tayas at Ivris will be "sons" of Aimgalas. So, too, *Samali(t)sis* "the Samalian" will be literally "the son of Samala."

(5) The verb *mis*-DET.-*ya* "I have built," the meaning of which is known from M. XXXIII, A. 4, is found in a corresponding passage in VII, 1, 2. Here we have: "Of the city of An-da(?)-kale-i the pavement anew, the . . . (and) 100 *katus* in the temple I built." The word "pavement" is defined by the ideograph attached to it, in *katus* we have a picture of the breastplates worn by the gods (Macrob. *Sat.* I, 17), while the intervening ideograph has the shape of a diamond to which two strings are attached. The same ideograph without the strings is found in I, 1, in connection with the temple of Sandes.

(6) In M. I, 1 the patronymic suffix is attached to the name of the goddess Khala and to that of a deity which follows it. The second name begins with *gar*; then comes a character which is not the same as the vase *da* (No. 43), but is found again in VII 1, 1, if Messerschmidt's copy is right—which I doubt; and then *ma*, which from XXXII, 5 (*Ana-Katu-ma-s*, "the god of Kataonia") we gather meant "land of" when suffixed to the name of a god. Lastly comes the patronymic. Hence the whole would seem to be, "(the chapel) of the son of Khala of the land of the god Garpa (?)." Garpa was a Hittite god, and a land of Garpa-ni is mentioned by Assur-natsir-pal. Cp. XXXII, 2: "Consecrating (?) (*kale-mis*) anew (*aghan*) the city

[8] Whether *n-ya-ni-a-ma* and *n-ya-ni-a-mis* in M. XIX, A. 6 and C. 3 (App.), have anything to do with this demonstrative I cannot say.

(*men*), the place of Sandes, the son of Khala."[9] In any case Sandes is described as the son of Khala, "the Cilician."

(7) The *head*, No. 57 in my Table, has primarily the value of *ana*, the *doll*, No. 56, the value of *am*, only secondarily the value of *a*. This is proved for *ana* by a comparison of X, 2 and XXI, 4; see also I, 3, VIII, A. 2, X, 8, XXXII, 1, 3, XXXIII, 2, 3, XXI, 5, 6, 7, XLVI, 3. For *am* by I, 3, and VIII, A. 4 (*a-na-am*-AMMA-*mis*, *ana-m*-AMMA-*m-a-mis*); see also V, 1, and IX, 5 (*am-me-yas*, *a*-AMMA-MIS-*m-s*). The arm, with the determinative of an ideograph, interchanges with *ana* in VIII, A. 4; more often it is the arm with the word-divider above and below (ID. 19 in my Table). As the word-divider is composed of the characters *e-na*, it probably had merely a phonetic function here. This must be the case with the arm holding the plough (DET. 10) in XIX, A. 4, B. 5, where it is inserted between *ana* and *iyas*, in order to represent the syllable *miyas* of the adjective *anamiyas*. In this place, as in some others, the word *ana* is ideographically denoted by No. 14, with a loop on each side of the sleeve. From XXXIII, 2, compared with XXXII, 3, we learn that No. 57 could represent the whole word *aname*(*s*). A comparison of passages, *e.g.*, I, 3 (*aname atu*), and X, 2, 8, or of XXI, 4, and X, 8, shows that *atu* "king," corresponds with the common compound ideograph (literally, "lord of the land"), which must therefore be read *atus*.[10]

(8) No. 30 of my Table is not *lu*, as I have already said, but a linear form of the couch which constitutes the second element in *Ma-ar-gha-sis-is*, "of Mer'ash" (XXI, 2). We can now, therefore, read the name of the king to whom the inscriptions of Hamath

[9] Or is it rather "the city of the high-place (*isi-mâ*) of Sandes who belongs to Khala?" On the Kouyunjik seals ID. *Khala-mes* is "the seal of Khala," *mes* or *mis* being the usual suffix (as in *ara-mis*), and Khala-mes in the Carchemish inscriptions is "the servant" or "man of Khala" (IX, 2, 4, XI, 1, where I have hitherto misunderstood the term). Perhaps in XI, 3 we have [*Khal*]*a-is* formed like Tarkhais and Khattais, "the Hittite" (III, B. 2). On the bowl (I, 3) Prof. Jensen would make the name which follows that o the goddess "Carchemish," and it is certainly possible to read, "the chapel of the son of him who belongs to Khala, the god of Kar-Kam(?)-mâ-isi." In this case Sandes and Khala would have been the divine pair of Carchemish as they were of Cilicia, where the Greeks turned the goddess into a heifer.

[10] The boot, *i.e.*, "the earth," similarly forms part of a compound ideograph in XLVI, 2 (according to the squeeze), where *sar-is* is followed by the ideograph of "king" (No. 1 ID.) and the boot, and in XXXV, 1 (according to the photograph), where the determinative No. 8 and the ideograph of "prince" (No. 5 ID.) similarly have the boot attached to them.

belong. It is *Ar-amma-ma-n-s*, Arammanes, a derivative from Aramma. a Hittite name known from the Assyrian inscriptions. In fact, in the time of Assur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser II, Aramma, son of Agusi, was king of that very land of Yakhanâ over which the Hamathite king claims rule. The name reappears with a different suffix in the Aramoas of Greek Cilician inscriptions, as well as in the Lycian Armmānö-ni and Arimñnu-ha. In M. VI, 1 the name has the two determinatives of "great chief" attached to it. Such, then, will have been its signification in Hittite. The Hittite scribe must have decomposed it into *ara-m* "chief," and *ana* "king," or "powerful." Hence I can now explain the end of M. XI, 5, "the Kalkas (?) priests of *am-es-na-a-na* DET. (of "great") MA ID. (of Sun) *n-a-n*-MA-[*ya*], the city of the Sun-god." In M. II, 6, "the city of the Sun-god," is written AME-*s*-ID. (of Sun)-*ni*, Ames-Nana, or Ames-Nini, being a compound similar to Ames-Tarki. In M. VI, 2 we find *ammâ* D.P. *Na*-ID. (of Sun)-*na-yas*-MA, and in XXIII, C, 1, "the high-priest (*aba?-kaleya*) of the place of the Sun-god" (ID. *n-n-ya*-MA, followed by "priest" and the adjective *am-mar-mis*). In M. XXXII, 4, 5 the ideograph of the Sun is added to the termination (?) of the word *n-n-a* merely as a phonetic determinative.

(9) As Aramma proves to be a Hittite word, we may now accept the conjecture I put forward on p. 308 of this Memoir, that the name of "Aramis, king of the gods," is found in M. X, 2. It is there followed by the head (ID. 10 of my Table) and the boot (No. 26), "chief of the land," but as in M. II, 1, the suffix attached to the head is *-mis*, like that attached to the ideograph of "king," the boot must here be read phonetically *mi*. It seems obvious, therefore, that we have a play upon the name of the god Aramis, the passage reading, *Arame arami*, "Aramis the king." This will explain the proper name "Aramis, king of the gods." The word Aramis signified "king" and also denoted a particular god.[11]

[11] A photograph I have received of M. XXIII, C. shows that I was right in conjecturing that the name of Aramis is contained in the inscription. The text reads: DET. (of divinity) *-na-s* (?) *Aram-m-* . . . *Gurgum* (?)- . . . *aram* (the head)-*mi-s* (?) *Aram* . . . "the god Aramis, the chief of Gurgum (?)." The ideographs which I have doubtfully identified with the name of Gurgum are those which on the Izgin Obelisk denote the name of a country that terminated in *-m*. *Aramis* "chief" is followed by the ideograph of the god Aramis without the prefix of "divinity," and therefore as a phonetic determinative. *Ara-mis* "king" claims connection with the Mitannian *irru-pi* of Kummukh, the Mitannian suffix *-pi* here as elsewhere taking the place of the Hittite *-mi*, and the Vannic *eri-las*, as well as with the name of Er the Pamphylian.

Who the gods were of whom Aramis was "king" is stated in M. X, 2. He was "supreme over the nine," the "nine" being elsewhere defined as deified states. In the Egyptian version of the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites, the god who took his name from the state is called its Sutekh, or idol. The nine deified states of the inscriptions of Carchemish and Izgin remain to be identified.

We now have the following Hittite words denoting "king" and the like: *sarmes* "king," borrowed from Assyria, probably to express the concept of a supreme monarch, *atus* "king," *aramis* "chief," and *anas* "prince," "lord," whence the gods also received the name of *anas* "lord."[12] *Atus* appears to have been literally "the great one," since the ideograph which helped to denote it also denoted "great." *Isimes* was "the exalted one," from *isi* "high." Separate from these were the priestly titles *kalis* "priest," and *aba-kalis* "high-priest," *kalinis* "priestly," "belonging to the order of priests," *tames* (or *taemes*) "priest," *aba* (?)-*tames* "high-priest." There were other terms for priests represented by compound ideographs which at present I cannot explain.

(10) A re-examination of M. IX, 1 in the British Museum, has made it clear that the first character of the royal name is No. 19 of my Table, while the remains of the second character are those of No. 47. Consequently the name is *Me-ta-a-s*, corresponding with Mita of the Moschi, and Matti of Atuna. I now see that the same name is found in the Hamath inscription, M. III, B. 2, where we have *Me-ta-a-na-s* "of the land of Metas." Hence "a Hittite of the land of (king) Metas," is equivalent to "he of the land of the Hittites from Arkana" (IV, A. 2), and "he of the land of the Hittites of the land of the city (*mâna*) of Masina" (IV, B. 2). The city of Musina is described in Assyrian contract-tablets as near Arpad, the Misi are mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (WINCKLER, 124, 4), the Masa are named among the Hittite adversaries of Ramses II, and Mushanath was a city near Ugarit north of Arvad. In the geographical lists of Ramses III Arkan follows Amanus, in that of Thothmes III it is associated with Pethor and the river Afrin. In his Annals Thothmes seems to place it south of Tunip

[12] Perhaps, however, the word for "god" was *ennani* or *nani*, since that seems to be the reading M. IX, 5 (compared with XI, 4 DET-*ni*). It may be noted that the character which represents "water" (No. 16) is *ni*, not *na*, in the inscriptions of Carchemish.

(now Tennib near Aleppo). In the time of Shalmaneser II it belonged to Hamath. The Assyrian king reached it immediately after leaving Aleppo and Adennu or Eden. To the eastward of it, apparently, and to the north of Hamath, Ramses III places Atu-kalna, called Atu-galna and Atha-kal in the list of Thothmes III, where it follows Nirab and Tereb south-west of Aleppo. I identify Atha-kal with the Antu-kal of the Hamath text (M. VI, 4, 5), which is written (A)n-da(?)-kal in the Kirtsh-oghlu inscription (M. VII, I. 1). Kirtsh-oghlu probably occupies its site.

(11) In M. XLVI, 1 the king Sinas is stated to be a priest in the city *Mis-gha-na*, which is written *Mes-gha-ya* a little further on. This is clearly "of the land of the Moschi," from whom, according to Josephus, Mazaka, the modern Kaisariyeh, derived its name. *Mes-gha-ya i-yas-i-mis* may therefore be "belonging to the chapel of Mazaka" rather than of the Moschi. However, we gather from the Assyrian texts that the Moschi once occupied the region in which the inscription of Karaburna is found. For "Moschi" the Byzantine writers have Μέσχοι and Μεσχιοί, as well as Μεσχία and Μεσχικός (Procop. B. G. IV, 2, Cedren. II, p. 573).[13]

The passage in which the name occurs at Karaburna is parallel to one in the inscription of Bulgar Maden (M. XXXII, 2). At Karaburna we have: *Kal(é)-mis mae-na ya-mes Mis-gha-mis a-mmé;* at Bulgar Maden *mê-n*-DET. *kalé-mis a-mis*-DET. *Kase-yas*-DET. *amm-a*, where the accusative *men* and genitive *maena* change places and *yames* is written instead of *amis*. It is interesting to see how one of the latest-discovered of Hittite inscriptions thus confirms the phonetic values I have assigned to the characters.

Sinas calls himself "king" of a city the name of which is also found in one of the Carchemish fragments (M. XII, 3, 2), from which we learn that it ended in *-ama*. The passage reads, *atu-yas . . . -ama-ya Kata-ta-*[*ya*] "the king of . . . ama, the Kataonian."

(12) Thanks to a squeeze, the doubtful characters in the inscriptions accompanying the sculptures at Ivriz are now clear, and the inscriptions themselves have become intelligible. In the one attached to the figure of Sandes the first character is *ya*, as I had predicted it must be if my system of decipherment were right, and the fifth character is *ta;* the *ba* of *Ta-ba-la* in line 2 is a leg as in

[13] The name is written Meskas at Bulgar Maden (XXXII, 4), where we have *ana-mes mânas Meskase-nais* "prince of the land of the Moschi." *Meskasenais* is a similar formation to *Sinas-mâ-nais*, "of the land of Sinas."

the name of Lie-ba-s in the Louvre inscription from Malatiyeh, and the last line ends with *tu*, determinative of country, and *ta*. The translation of the text therefore, is: "(1) This Sandes making, I Tayas have made, (2) the son of Aimgalas, the Tabal (*Tabalaes*-MA) king, in the land of the Eneti" (N-*tu*-DET.-*ta*). MA, however, may not be a determinative here but form part of the name of the country, which would then be *Ma-n-tu*, probably the Matieni of Herodotus (I, 72). Kuaruman,[14] in a cuneiform inscription on a griffin's head of red stone found near Kaisariyeh, calls himself "the Mantu (*Mantu-mas*) king."

The inscription at Ivris attached to the figure of the priest reads: "This having (executed?) of Aimgalas the High-priest the tablet I have engraved." I cannot identify the second character in the word *i-*-mes*, the root of which must mean "to execute" or something similar.

Tayas (Cilician Greek Theias, and possibly Tas) will have been a brother of Sandaitis the priest-king of Kybistra, who also calls himself at Bulgar Maden a son of Aimgalas.

(13) The famous rock-sculptures at Boghaz Keui are now in great measure explained. The chief goddess, whose marriage with the chief god, as Prof. Ramsay has pointed out, is there represented as taking place at the annual festival of the spring, bears the name of Amma, or Mames, and is thus the Mother-goddess of Asia Minor, who denoted the Earth. The name of the chief god was probably Tarkus, who at Fraktin is described as "supporting" and establishing "the city" which is symbolised by the plough. Behind the goddess is Attys, the third member of the Asianic triad, of whose Hittite name, expressed by two legs walking, we are still ignorant. Like his mother, he stands on a leopard. Behind him, again, are two attendant goddesses, standing on the double-headed eagle, which was the emblem of Eyuk. The god is preceded by two gods of "the mountain," while behind them is a long procession, which includes the figure of the Sun-god surmounted by the winged solar disk and in the dress of a eunuch-priest. His name is represented by a sistrum in the lunar disk and on a seal (M. XLI, 2) he is identified with the goddess Iskhara. The procession also includes two bull(?)-headed dwarfs,

[14] The first part of this name seems to be that of the god Queras, whose existence is certified by the Vannic inscriptions, one of which states that among the cities of Malatiyeh were Tas and (GOD) Querai-tas. Cp. Das-Tarkon.

who hold the disk of the moon above their heads, and is closed by twelve dancing priests, in front of whom march three high-priests, the fringe which borders their robes constituting an ideograph that is used (in M. X, 3) as a priestly title.

The legs of the twelve dancers form an ideograph, which we find in one of the inscriptions from Carchemish (M. XI, 4). As it is preceded by the demonstrative *na-m-ai* and two boots facing alternate ways, to which the pronunciation *si* is assigned, the movements of the sacred dance must be referred to. In fact, the whole line may be translated: "A place for the priests (DET. *kalinis-amma*) here for the god making, for the temple a . . . for the movements of this sacred dance he has made," and we can therefore infer that the same procession and dances that are depicted at Boghaz Keui took place also at Carchemish.

To return, however, to Boghaz Keui. The chief goddess is preceded by a long procession of goddesses as the chief god is by gods. The eunuch-priest, who in the procession represents the Sun-god, stands in a panel by himself, holding in his hand the "edicule," a representation of the world-temple. In it the High-priest stands on the earth and upholds the sun and moon, whose wings are supported on the pillars whereon the firmament rests. Between them and the High-priest rise two sacred dirks, the points of which rest on quivers. The quiver represents in the Hittite syllabary the word *kal*(*is*) or "priest," and the dirks, one of which is touched by the High-priest, were a badge of his sacred office.

In a corridor leading to an inner court, where perhaps the mysteries of the divine marriage were enacted, the eunuch-priest is sculptured again. But this time he is held under the protecting left arm of the god Attys, and it is no longer the High-priest who upholds the sun and moon in the world-temple, but the symbol of divinity, through which an ear of corn seems to grow. In front is sculptured the sacred dirk itself. Its blade is buried deep in the ground; its hilt is formed of the four lions or leopards of Amma, while above them towers the head of the High-priest. The sacred dirk guarded the approach to the mysteries of the inner sanctuary, which Attys himself might not enter without it, and we need not therefore be surprised that the foremost title assumed by the priest-kings of Carchemish, of Tyana, and perhaps too of Hamath (M. VI, 2), was that of "dirk-bearer" of the gods.

There were other fetishes besides the sacred dirk in the Hittite

cult. Apart from the sacred stone, which formed the central point of the sanctuary, and in which the divinity was believed to dwell, there was the upright column planted on the ground with the sacred stone at its top, of which we have a picture in M. XI, 5. Fragments of such an altar-column, with the triangular sacred stone surmounting it, have actually been found in Cyprus, with a dedication to Eshmun, and an engraving of it is given in the *Zeitschrift für der Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, XXXIV, p. 676. The two characters I have called "the altar" (Nos. 3 and 5) seem to be but another form of the column similar to that which is often represented on North Syrian seals: their phonetic values may be derived from the word *iyasis* "chapel." At all events, what Mr. Rylands and I have termed "the shaduf," is really a sacred pole with ribbons or something floating from the top, and representing the standard of the god, the two lines underneath it, when it has the value of *yas*, denoting the ground. The same "ribbons," though more in the form of a human head or depressed hand, surmounted the sacred column in the ideograph, which, for want of a better translation, I have rendered "image" in M. IX, 3. Here the passage should be translated: (2) "[Di-]mes (?),[15] the Milidian (?), High-priest of the goddess Khalma of Carchemish, belonging to the temple of Aramis-Ammas (King of City, Melkarth), has given (4) to Aramis-Ammas of the temple a royal image of Aramis-Ammas." In the age of the inscriptions, however, the image proper was already a pole, the upper part of which was carved into a human head (No. 56), and which I have called "the doll." To this was sometimes attached the standard of the god, as in M. VI, 2, 3. The anthropomorphic deities of Boghaz Keui were carved under the influence of Babylonian culture.

The sacred tree also played a part in Hittite worship, and in M. X, 2 the priest-king entitles himself its "superintendent." But its most ordinary form is that which appears in M. XXXI, A., and XXXII, 2, where it is represented as the sacred column, surmounted by the triangular stone, and shooting forth leaves like rays. I

[15] According to Mr. Boscawen's copy of M. XV, B., the name of the king is Dimes, the first character being that which has the value of *dime* on the Boss of Tarkondemos. Perhaps, therefore, we may translate the first line: 'I am the Milidian (?), a Hittite of the Holy City (Carchemish), Dimes." It is a pity that our copies of the inscription are not more certain, as the king to whom it belongs seems to have been the one who has left monuments of himself at Gurun.

believe this particular form was originally a variant of the symbol of the god Aramis (M. IX, 5, X, 2), though at present I have no definite proof that such was the case. The "doll" is similarly met with sprouting forth leaves (M. XI, 5).

The gods at Boghaz Keui carry in their left hands what appears at first sight to be the ordinary mace. But when we compare the figure of the Sun-god (or his priest), found at Birejik, and now in the British Museum, which is figured in my "Monuments of the Hittites" (*Tr.S.B.A.*, VII), with the figure of the god discovered by Prof. Ramsay at Doghanlyderesi (M. XXXVI, B.), we see that it is not a mace, but the caduceus of classical mythology. The same symbol, but this time plainly representing a pomegranate on its stalk, is held in the hand of the mother-goddess on a stela discovered at Mer'ash (Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, IV). In the other hand of the goddess is a lyre with a bird above it, while Attys sits upon her lap. The symbol occurs, as might be expected, among the Hittite hieroglyphs, and on the Obelisk of Izgin (M. XIX, C. 19; so also in II, 6) it serves to express the name of a city, which may be Arabessos.

In any case it is interesting thus to be able to trace back the famous caduceus of Hermês to Asia Minor and the Hittites, and at last to find its origin in the sacred pomegranate branch. The twofold serpent entwined around it in classical art is derived from the twisted serpent with the stag's head which symbolises the union of Sandes and Khalma on a Hittite seal (M. XLI, 1). Greek legend told how it was not the emblem of one god alone, but that it had been given by Apollo to Hermês in exchange for his lyre. The lyre is found again in the right hand of the goddess at Mer'ash, though the bird that is perched above it resembles more the eagle of Zeus than the dove of Aphroditê. But as an ideograph in the name of Khalma it must be the dove and not the eagle, and the goddess of Mer'ash is but Khalma in another form, while Tarkus of Fraktin is declared by Strabo to have been the "Kataonian Apollo."

NOTE.

I must add a few words on what may be called the graphic determinatives, the "word-divider," the determinative of ideographs, and the sign of the plural. They are all formed from the demonstrative *na*, which is found in *na-mis* (by the side of the other

demonstrative *ya-mes*), *na-mà*, *ney-as*, *na* (XI, 4, 5), accusative *n(a)-n* (XI, 2). The "word-divider" is literally "this one," being composed of *e* "one" and *na*, and was originally used only of persons; at times its place is taken by *e* "one" (*e.g.*, XXI, 3). The ideograph of *ana* "lord," consists of an arm, symbolic of power, between "this one" and "that one," the "lord" exercising his authority over all men. The sign of the plural similarly consists of two "word-dividers," "this one—that one," side by side, and standing alone it probably denoted "all." The determinative of ideographs is formed of two *na*'s set back to back, "this (and) that," "this" indicating the ideograph, and "that" its suffixes or phonetic complements.

The Hittite inscriptions discovered this summer by Prof. Ramsay at Ardistama, which I hope will be published in the *Proceedings* of this Society early next year, show that the character denoting the name of the god Tarkus at Fraktin, referred to above, is really the boot with the vowel *e* attached to it. The identification of the god with Apollo would seem to have been due to his connection with "dance" and song.

A MENTION OF A FLOOD IN THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By Prof. E. Naville, *D.C.L.*

In the museum at Leyden, there is a funeral papyrus the date of which is the time of the XIXth dynasty. According to the museum catalogue it was found at Memphis. It was written for [1] "*Osiris the butler of the sovereign in the South and in the North Rā.*" This document (*L. c.*) is in a very bad state; parts of it are considerably damaged, in many places the columns are incomplete on both sides, and especially in the upper part. This is much to be regretted in the case of a very interesting chapter, to which I gave No. 175, and of which the Leyden version alone was known when the critical edition of the Book of the Dead was made. It has this title: *Chapter of not dying again in the Netherworld.*

Another version has been found in the papyrus of Ani , purchased by the British Museum in 1888, and which comes from a Theban tomb. This papyrus is therefore of Theban origin, and its style shows that it also was written during the XIXth dynasty. The costume of the deceased and of his wife points to that epoch. The document itself was made beforehand and purchased for Ani, whose name was inserted afterwards.

Thus we can say that we have a Memphitic and a Theban version of the same text. There are considerable differences between the two versions, that of the Leyden papyrus being much longer, having 47 lines, out of which the text of Ani covers only 25, when it stops abruptly.

[1] The table reads *uthu.* This official is the ⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲧϩ משקה ἀρχιοινοχόος, the butler of Genesis xl, 1: see *Zeitschr.*, 1878, p. 70.

Sir Peter le Page Renouf translated the beginning and the end of this chapter as far as it goes in the papyrus of Ani, in the introduction which he wrote to his edition of this document. I reproduced all that Renouf says of this chapter when I completed his work, and I translated the middle part of it which my predecessor had left out, giving to various words the sense which he had adopted. There are some points on which I do not quite agree with him, and therefore the translation which I am about to give differs here and there from that which appeared in these *Proceedings*, especially in the parts for which Renouf alone is responsible. It differs also from that which was published by Dr. Budge, who follows exclusively the papyrus of Ani. The comparison of the two texts which have been preserved shows that by far the best would have been the text of Leyden.

Whoever has collated a certain number of papyri of the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasties will soon perceive that those which have beautifully painted vignettes have by no means the most correct and the most reliable text. Evidently the purchasers were attracted by the artistic character of such documents. It generally happens, as is the case with the papyrus of Ani, that the text has suffered at the expense of the vignettes. The illustrations were made beforehand, they were inserted where they were supposed to accompany the Chapter to which they belong; a certain space was reserved for what we should call the letterpress. But too often there has been a miscalculation. The space allotted to the text is either too short or too long. Here, for instance, it is decidedly too short. Chapter 175 stops in the middle of a sentence because the text abuts against two large figures which belong to chapter 125.

Chapter 175 is not like the great bulk of the Chapters found in the Book of the Dead, it does not consist merely of prayers or sentences uttered by the deceased, it contains several dialogues between the deceased and divinities, or between divinities together. We do not find here that the deceased is asked questions which he has to answer in order to obtain certain rewards, or to be allowed to pass certain gates, it is he who questions the gods.

The Chapter opens with the deceased addressing Thoth :—

(Pl. I, ll. 1–7 ; III, ll. 2–8.)

O Thoth, who are those who are like children of Nut, they have stirred up hostilities, they have raised storms, they have committed iniquity, they have raised rebellion, they have perpetrated murder, they

have done oppression, and furthermore they make the great to be small in all I have done.

Grant O Thoth that that may take place which Tum has commanded,[2]

[2] A word which already in the texts of the XIXth dynasty (see Chapter 1, l. 12, Pap. of Hunefer) is not always distinguished from , though it has a different sense. It is a curiously formed group, consisting of the sign *kheru*, across which is drawn an , so that one may doubt whether it is not an ideographic sign which is to be read (*Mission Française*, I, p. 153, l. 270).

The various examples found in the Book of the Dead show that it means to speak aloud or with emphasis, to proclaim, to declare, to pronounce, to order, and sometimes also to address, to question, or to answer, like the German "entgegnen."

In the Scene of Judgment which is at the beginning of the papyrus of Ani, we find this, ... *Said by the great Cycle of the gods to Thoth of Hermopolis . . . they declare: that which comes out of thy mouth is right.* is written in red like .

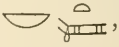
In the Chapter to which Dr. Budge has given No. 185, and which begins with a repetition of 52, we find this question : (Budge, *Book of the Dead*, Nu, pl. 39) *Thou livest on what? the gods and the glorified say to me.* In Chapter 52 the same question, which is probably supposed to be asked with a loud voice, is given in this form : (Budge, *l.c.*, Nu, pl. 22). The equivalent of is , and in other cases where the question is repeated it is . Chapter 52 (189) shows another example of the same word : *thy food is given thee where? the gods ask me.*

The other sense would apply to this gloss of Chapter 17 (l. 50) : *this day is the day of "come to me" when Osiris said to Rā come to me. I have seen (I was present) when it was shouted towards the Ament ;* or to this obscure passage in the first Chapter, l. 12, which I translate in this way : *give triumph to Osiris over his enemies was commanded by Rā to Thoth . . . the command was executed towards me by Thoth.*

viz., thou shalt not see evil, thou shalt not suffer; for their years are but dust and their months are nearing (their end) while they are designing evil against what I have done.

In this paragraph, as well as further on, I am following as much as I can the text of Leyden, which is certainly more correct than that of Ani, and has been copied from a more complete version; but the bad state of this document adds much to the obscurity of many passages, the translation of which can be only conjectured. The deceased addresses Thoth, and describes the state of trouble, of chaos, which he is witnessing. Beings, which he calls sons of Nut, are exciting warfare and confusion; storms and rebellion are raging over the surface of the earth. The authors of this trouble are the children of Nut, who, like Set, also a son of Nut, are warlike genii, and seem to be here the same beings called elsewhere the companions of Set.

Not only do they create a state of utmost disorder, but "they make the great to be small." This seems to me to mean that they usurp the authority of the god Tum, and reverse the order he has established. The same expression is found in the tombs of the kings, applied to Rā himself, in the description of one of the hours of the night. The god is in his boat: on one side he is accompanied by the blessed ones, the , on the other the wicked ones are marching with their elbows tied together; the text says, *. . . . the hauling of this god by the gods of the Netherworld in order that he may apportion the earth, and do his will towards its inhabitants, that he may weigh the words in the Ament, and cause the great to be small among the gods of the Netherworld.*" This clearly describes how the god exerts his authority in the Ament.

As it is often the case in the Book of the Dead, the deceased speaks occasionally as a god, or he reverts to his former condition of a defunct human being who addresses his prayers to the gods. It seems to me evident that in the first part of the paragraph the deceased speaks as if he were the god Tum  , as we see at the beginning of Chapter 17; or as we find further on. It is in the god's work, *in all I have done*, or *in all that has been done* (*Ani*) that the trouble occurs.

Curiously enough, we find here an appeal to Thoth in connection with the , the order or the command, just as in the first Chapter.

There Rā calls on Thoth in order that the command given by him that Osiris may triumph over his enemies should be executed; here it is the deceased who, as a man, not as a god, implores Thoth. (*L. c.*) *Grant O Thoth what Tum has ordered or proclaimed.* What is this order or this decree? Here we reach a very obscure part of the text, and in which the two versions often disagree. I cannot help thinking that this command of Tum, to which the deceased gives a great importance, consists in the following words:—*Thou shalt not see iniquity, thou shalt not suffer* (for) *their years are but dust and their months are nearing* (their end) *while they are doing secret mischief.* In this sentence there are a few words the translation of which is purely conjectural.[3] *Their years are but dust, and their months are nearing their end.* That means probably that all the harm they are doing will soon come to an end, it will not last much longer. In spite of the uncertainty of the whole sentence, it seems clear that what Tum has commanded is that no harm should result to the deceased from the trouble and disorder in which he finds himself, and which will not be of long duration.

They are doing secret mischief. It is not easy to understand what is meant by these words, which, taken by themselves, are simple enough. The word ,[4] which I translated *evil*, means

[3] (*L. c.*) (*Ani*), a word or which I do not know any other example. The only word which I can connect with it is this composite expression, (Bon. and Sharpe, 4. D.). The variants of this word are written (Bonomi, *l.c.*, 3. D.), (Lefébure, *Mission*, II, 4e partie, Pl. III; *id.*, III, 4e partie, Pl. XVIII), showing that in the first case is a determinative equivalent to . This would give us a word or , which we may compare with "dust," "rubbish," "sweepings." It might be compared with other words.

[4] I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Erman for a collection of examples of the word made for the great Lexicon which is now being compiled at Berlin.

properly *to spoil, to deface, to curtail*, and often *to violate or break a contract*. This idea is qualified here by the word *secret*, and seems at variance with what we saw before. All the harm which the children of Nut are doing, and which is described above, is certainly not hidden or secret, it is as plainly visible as can be. Therefore I believe that the evil which is meant here does not refer to evil acts, but to evil designs or evil thoughts, which may well be called secret or hidden. And what seems to me to confirm this interpretation is the following sentence, in which the god says to the deceased: *thou art not one of those evil designing ones, there is no evil in thee, Osiris, thou art well pleasing to the lords of the earth, bearing witness to truth, free of iniquity, kindhearted, without any defect.* All this refers to moral qualities, and not to acts or outward conduct.

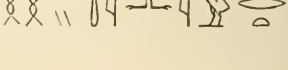
The dialogue goes on (Pl. I, ll. 7–9; III, ll. 8, 9). The deceased says:

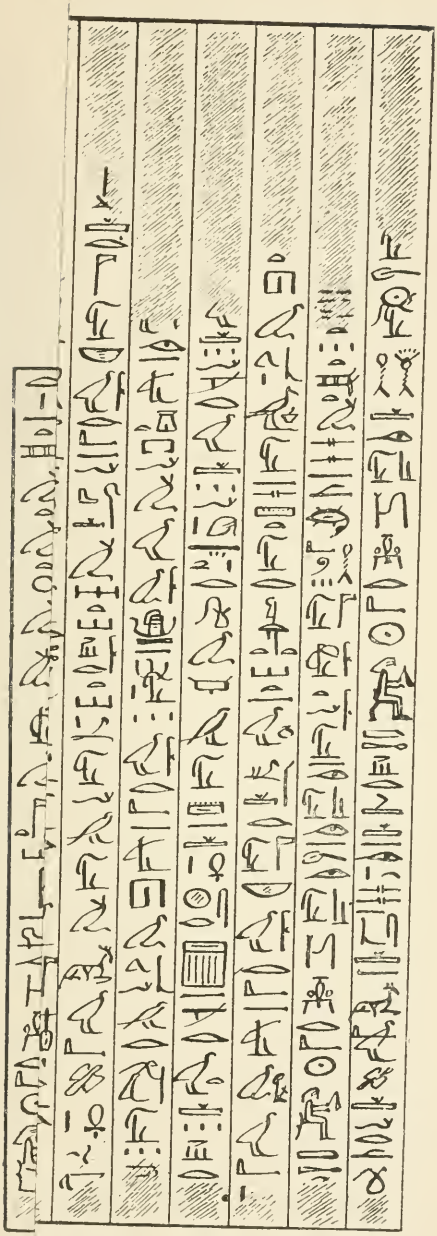
I am thy pallet, O Thoth, I have brought thee the inkstand; and the god answers what was just quoted: *thou art not one of those evil designing ones, there is no evil in thee, Osiris, thou art well pleasing to the lords of the earth, bearing witness to truth, free of iniquity, kindhearted, without any defect.* This is the version according to *L. c.* According to Ani, there is no answer by the god, the deceased himself, after having said: "I have brought thee the inkstand," adds: *I am not one of those evil designing ones, no evil has been done by me.*

It is rather extraordinary that the deceased should say: "I am thy pallet." We should rather expect, as in chapter 94: *I bring thee the inkstand and the pallet*, but the two versions agree in this point, so we cannot translate otherwise. Besides, Chapter 94, speaking of these instruments of Thoth, says that "*the secrets of them are divine*," and we know from the Ritual that not only does the priest who performs a ceremony become god, but the object itself which he offers is god also; it is therefore in this sense that we have to understand these words "*I am thy pallet.*"

The second paragraph begins again with a question asked by the deceased: (Pl. I, ll. 10–14; III, ll. 10–15.)

O my Lord Tum, who are those journeying towards a country in the Netherworld where there is no water and no air? it is an abyss, deep darkness, a secluded place, so that there will be no life,[5] *no peace of*

[5] I believe the text of Ani must be read 
, etc.



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Proceedings Bibl. Arch., Nov., 1904

I. b.

heart, no pleasures of love. Let there be granted to me glory instead of water and air, and also pleasures of love and peace of heart instead of bread and beer.

The two texts do not agree; according to Ani the question is the following, "*what is this place to which I have journeyed?*" as Renouf translates. It is the deceased himself who reaches that desolate place, described also by the same document, where there is neither water nor air nor food of any kind. We may judge from the length of the gaps that in *L. c.* the description of that obscure region was much shorter.

The discrepancy between the two texts is still greater in the words of Tum: *Says Tum, if I see thy face, there will be no suffering from thy need; henceforth whatever god rests in the boat of* (*millions*) . . . . . *Says Tum, henceforth whoever has been directed by the Princes, he will rule* (*on his throne and his son will inherit his throne*) *in the isle of fire.*

These are the words from *L. c.*; the gaps are so considerable that it is hardly possible to make a connected sense. We see here a mention of the boat, which is probably that which is spoken of further on under the name of "the boat of millions;" this name must be understood as meaning the boat of millions of years, the everlasting boat.

(*To be continued.*)

TILES FROM MYCENÆ, WITH THE CARTOUCHE OF AMENHETEP III.

By R. Sewell.

Amongst the objects found during the excavations at the royal palace at Mycenæ are two which do not appear to have met with quite the attention which they deserve. These are fragments of two Tiles, each bearing the *nomen* cartouche of Amenhetep III, of the XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt. It will be noticed that these Tiles must have faced one another, since, in the one case (*see* Plate, fig. 1) the inscription must be read from the left, and in the other (fig. 2), from the right. These fragments lie in Case No. 63 in the Schliemann Room in the Royal Museum at Athens, where I saw them in February, 1902. They appear to be fragments of enamelled tiles—M. Tsountas says "*plaques de terre émaillée.*" They have been published in Greece,[1] but not, I think, in England; and I find no mention of them either in Schliemann's work or in M. Tsountas's book, *The Mycenæan Age.* And yet they are worthy of the careful consideration of scholars. Scarabs of Amenhetep III and of his queen have been found at Mycenæ, and so have many other objects both there and in Egypt, proving the close relationship that existed between the two countries, and testifying to the admiration felt by the young Achaian kingdom for the great Egyptian monarchy; and Dr. Flinders Petrie, in the *Journal of the Hellenic Society* (XII, p. 199), has pointed out that many traces of Egyptian Art exist at Mycenæ—of Art, that is, imitated rather than copied from Egyptian originals by the Greeks of that period. Thus the fact of Mycenæan intercourse with Egypt during the XVIIIth dynasty is proved in two ways; (1) by Greek importation from Egypt of small objects, (2) by traces of Egyptian influence in Greek Art.

Now if the tiles here figured (M. Tsountas was kind enough to have the photograph taken for me) were merely detached portions brought over as curiosities—much in the same way as we English buy pieces of old Dutch tiling which once, perhaps, formed part of a chimney-piece—then they merely constitute an addition to proof

[1] In the *Ephemeris Arkhaiologikê*, 1891, pl. III, 3, 4, and p. 18.

Fig. 1.

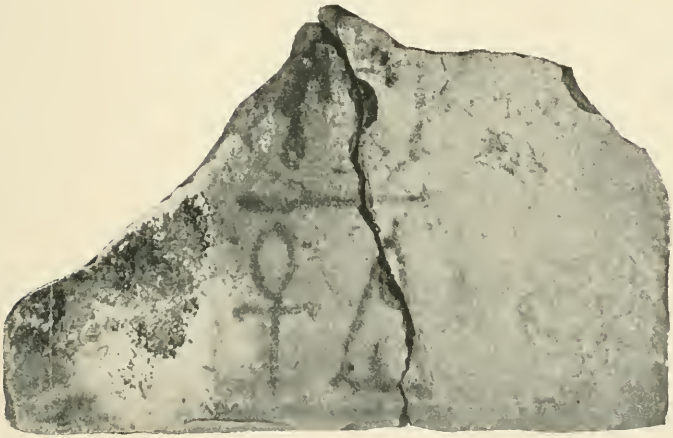


Fig. 2.

ENAMELLED TILES FROM MYCENÆ,
WITH THE CARTOUCHE OF AMENHETEP III.

No. 1 as noted above. But if they were part of a large decoration actually affixed in its entirety to the wall of the palace at Mycenæ, then we must accept them as affording evidence even stronger than either of the above two classes. For in such case it would appear that the Greek king actually ornamented his own residence with a quantity of Egyptian tile-work, bearing a double inscription in hieroglyphics, which included a cartouche of Amenhetep III.

Whether or not the whole was ever at Mycenæ, M. Maspero, to whom I wrote on the subject, has expressed to me his belief that these fragments once formed a portion of a long inscription; and he has no doubt whatever that they come from Egypt itself, and were not Greek imitations of Egyptian forms. With his permission I append the following extracts from his letter:—

"Les deux fragments appartiennent certainement à deux lignes différentes qui devaient être affrontées, peut-être de chaque côté d'une scène. Le premier fragment porte au-dessus de l'oie un trait horizontal qui, dans cette position, appartient probablement au cartouche-prénom du souverain. Cette constatation est assez importante parce que, si l'interprétation que je donne du trait est exacte, la légende était nécessairement longue . . . . . Un point important qui résulte de l'examen de votre photographie c'est que l'inscription a été dessinée, non pas seulement d'aprês un modéle égyptien, mais par un Égyptien même. Je ne crois pas qu'un étranger êut réussi à camper une oie sur ses pattes aussi hiéroglyphiquement que le dessinateur qui a fait l'oie du titre royal. Elle a la véritable cambrure du cou, le vrai port de la tête, la vraie conformation du corps, la vraie attache des pattes, qu'on remarque sur les monuments égyptiens . . . . . Il faut donc admettre qu'au moins un Égyptien a pris part à la décoration, ce qui est d'une importance capitale pour l'intelligence des conditions où s'est développé cet art achéen, et pour expliquer l'influence achéenne qu'on remarque sur les monuments égyptiens de la même époque."

It must be noted that this was written under the impression, conveyed by me from the information then available, that the fragments in question formed part of a mural decoration on the palace at Mycenæ. Since then I have received M. Tsountas's letter stating that the cartouches were painted on enamelled tiles, and that in his belief they have no connection with the palace at all. They were, however, certainly found at Mycenæ, and as such are deserving of attention.

AN OVERLOOKED FRAGMENT OF AN EPONYM LIST.

By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, *M.A.*

The edition of the fragments of the Eponym Canon Lists by Dr. Delitzsch, in the second edition of his *Assyrische Lesestücke*, pp. 87–94, divides these lists into two classes, C^a, 'names of the Eponyms in their historic succession,' and C^b, 'names of the Eponyms with addition of their rank and short historic notices.' As is well known, C^a extends from B.C. 911 to B.C. 649, with some few gaps. But the existing copies of C^b only begin with B.C. 817 and extend to B.C. 723. There also exist one or two fragments of an even fuller sort of Canon List, of which K. 4446, usually called Canon VI, is the best example. Dr. Bezold, in the *Museum Catalogue*, p. 633, says it has 13 + 16 lines in three columns. It was published in II. R., p. 69, No. 6. Transcriptions of this are given in G. Smith's *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 43–45 and p. 53. The peculiarity of the entries for the years B.C. 709 to 703 is, that beside the names of the Eponyms and their titles, we have longer notices of the events of the year than usual in C^b. This feature renders this sort of Canon List nearly as full for these years as the Babylonian Chronicle. In fact, as noticed by Dr. Bezold in *P.S.B.A.*, XI, p. 138, the entries are so similar, that one document may be used to restore the other. Indeed it looks as if the Chronicler had had a copy of Canon VI before him.

Dr. Bezold notes that G. Smith, *Ep. Can.*, p. 55, quotes, apparently, another column, giving the events of B.C. 701 to 699. But Dr. Bezold does not seem to have known where this came from.

In the *Catalogue*, p. 1058, Dr. Bezold describes K. 10,017 as "Fragment out of the middle, 2 in. by 1½ in.; . . . . . + 10 lines. Part of a report (?). Mention is made of [illegible], etc." But this is the fragment transcribed by G. Smith for his *Ep. Can.*, p. 55.

There seems no need to publish the text here, as G. Smith's transcription tells nearly all we can get to know. A reliable edition of all the Canon List fragments will doubtless soon be issued by the authorities of the British Museum. But a few remarks may be of use for fixing dates in Sennacherib's reign.

For the year before B.C. 700, we have the entry *ištu mâti Ḫal-zi ḪI* . . . . . G. Smith seems to have considered the name of the land to be Ḫalziḫi, but the division line between the columns puts *ḪI* too far to the right for that. Evidently, in B.C. 701, some one or some thing came 'from the land of Ḫalzi.' It was the second year of Bêl-ibni's rule in Babylonia. The Babylonian Chronicle makes no entry for that year. After *ḪI* are traces of a few more signs, but they are not easy to identify.

For B.C. 700, we find the Eponym given as *Mitunu šakin mâti.* But the name of his district, Isana, is not preserved. The next line begins with Ašur-nâdin-šum, *mâr* . . . , of course the name of Sennacherib's ill-fated son, whom he installed as king of Babylon in this year. The next six lines recount building operations. They refer to the 'walls (?) of the palace' *Ḳabal ali.* This G. Smith rendered, 'in the midst of the city.' But the name *Ḳabal ali* denoted a part of Nineveh and also a part of Kalaḫ. One of these city names may have followed in the same line. In the next line we have mention of 'great beams of cedar," *iṣu er-ni.* In the next line we have *abnu GIŠ-ŠIR-GAL ina libbi*, which G. Smith rendered 'great stone obelisks in the midst.' The next line reads *ina libbi ali ŠE Da-ar-gi-tu.* The signs *IR ŠE*, or *alu šê*, usually denote an unwalled township or district. The reading of these signs is perhaps *rêbitu.* Dargitu recalls the name of the city Dariga, one of the cities which rebelled against Shalmaneser II, named by Šamši-Adadi, between Zaban and Dûr-balaṭ. Of the next line only *ana* is clear. In the next line *šarru* seems certain, and *alu* at the end, but no connected meaning is clear. It is certain that, so far, no fresh Eponym was named. There are traces of another line which probably read *Bêl-šarrâni šakin ali Kurban*, but no certainty can be reached with such slight traces. Doubtless the discovery and addition of the other fragments will one day make all these references clear.

A NEW CARVED SLATE.

By F. Legge.

By the kindness of M. Bénédite, the learned Conservateur of the Musée Egyptien du Louvre, I am now able to add the reproduction of a carved slate recently purchased by the French Government, to the collection published in the *Proceedings* for 1900. It has already been published as one of the *Monuments et Mémoires* (*Fondation Piot*) *de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (t. X, fasc. 2), with an excellent and exhaustive memoir by M. Bénédite, to which I would refer my readers. The earliest spot to which it can be traced is Damanhur, although, as M. Bénédite points out, this probably means nothing more than that it was at this village that there lived the *fellah* workman in whose possession it was found.

It measures a little more than 12 inches by 6, and it is remarkable that we here see the first departure from the shield, spear, leaf, or, according to M. Bénédite, heart-shaped form of the other carved slates, while it may be noticed that an attempt has been made to bring it into line with them in this particular by shaving off the ears of the lower pair of the four animals which form the outer ring of the design. That these four animals are dogs, like the pair at the top of the Ashmolean slate from Hieraconpolis (*P.S.B.A.*, 1900, p. 138, Pl. III), there can be little doubt, and M. Bénédite probably gives them their proper name when he calls them Molossian hounds. M. Bénédite also describes the bird with a beak like a toucan or hornbill, at the top of the obverse, as an ibis, and in this he is also no doubt correct. In that case, the crested bird in the city cartouche (*P.S.B.A.*, *ubi. cit.*, Pl. IV) can hardly be one also, and we must therefore suppose the last-named to be some other aquatic bird, such as a cayuga or crested goose. I am afraid I must differ from M. Bénédite as to the identity of the beast immediately below the ibis, which he will have to be a lion, but which appears to me more like a hunting dog, all the felines on these slates bearing their tails either curved spirally (*P.S.B.A.*, *ubi. cit.*, Pls. I, II, III, IV, V and VI) or extended at length. That the panther-like beast with serpent's

Obverse.

Reverse.

From "*Monuments et Mémoires (Fondation Piot) de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*." Vol. X.

neck is the same as that on the Hieraconpolis slates is also evident, while the reverse, with its giraffes and palm tree for central figure, shows substantially the same motive as the reverse of the unfortunately broken slate (*P.S.B.A.*, *ubi. cit.*, Pl. VI, and *ibid.*, 1900, p. 270, Plate), of which fragments are to be found in the British and Ashmolean Museums. The workmanship of the new slate is throughout poor, but this gives us little or no clue as to its age, and M. Maspero has rightly warned us against drawing arguments in this respect from discrepancies of style, which may be only due to the fact that contemporary objects were generally executed in villages of which some were more backward in culture than others.

As to the purpose of these slates, I remain impenitent in my belief that they were not intended as receptacles for cosmetics, and I am proud to note that M. Bénédite, like many other scholars, has now come round to the same view. I cannot, however, agree with his suggestion, in which he follows Dr. Naville and, I think, Dr. Budge, that they were intended as stands for some statue or symbol, or, in the alternative, as libation bowls. As before said, they would be unfitted for the first-named purpose, unless the inner wall of the depression were made perpendicular to the base, while the corresponding depression in the many slabs or altars for libation purposes, of which we have examples, is never cylindrical but always more or less hemispherical in section. On the other hand, I am glad to see that he thinks it likely that these slabs may have been at one time either wholly or in part covered with gold leaf. The fact that the eyes of the animals in this, as in the other examples, are bored out to be inlaid with glass or some other precious substance, shows that they were intended to receive further decoration after leaving the hands of the sculptor.

AN ARAB STAMP, WITH A VIEW OF THE *BEIT ULLAH* AT MECCA.

By W. L. Nash, *F.S.A.*

This Stamp was found at Acre in Syria after the capture of the town in 1840, by an officer of one of the ships engaged in the bombardment of the place.

It is made of copper and measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Attached to the back is a handle made of solid copper, cut to represent the outline of the dome of a mosque.

The face of the Stamp is engraved with a view of the Kaaba at Mecca, and some of the surrounding buildings. The drawing is peculiar, it is neither wholly in plan nor wholly in perspective, but is a sort of mixture of the two (Pl. I, fig. 1). The engraving is of course reversed, and I therefore give an illustration made from an impression of it (Pl. I, fig. 2). The available space was so small that the artist had to omit a great deal, but he has given part of the celebrated Arcade, and has shown some of the gates (of which there are said to be 19) and has indicated others. Moreover he has in most instances given the names of the gates in Arabic.

Ali bey el Abbassi, a Spaniard by birth, whose real name was Domingo Badia, who lived for a long time in the East and was employed as a spy by the French government during Napoleon's campaign in Syria, wrote an account of his travels which was first published in Paris in 1813, and afterwards in London in 1816. He gives a plan of the Kaaba and its surroundings which Burckhardt says is correct. For the purpose of comparison I give a reproduction of this plan, much reduced in size (Pl. II).

The *Beit Ullah* represented on Ali bey's plan, is the mosque which replaced the earlier one which was destroyed in 1626, and the re-building of which was completed in 1640. In many respects the plan and our Stamp agree very closely. It is true there are differences,

PLATE I.

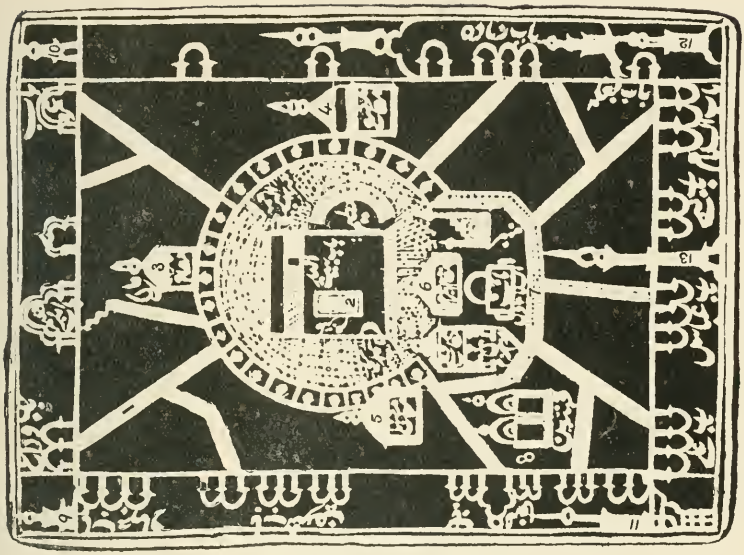


Fig. 2.
From an impression of the original.

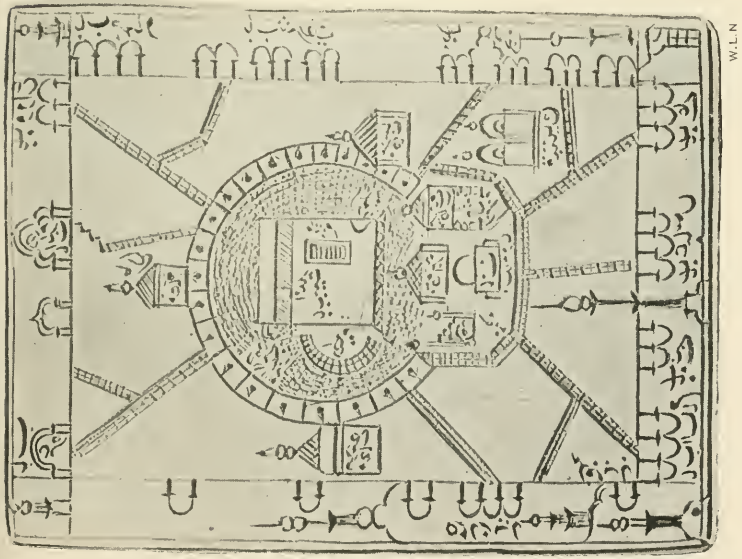
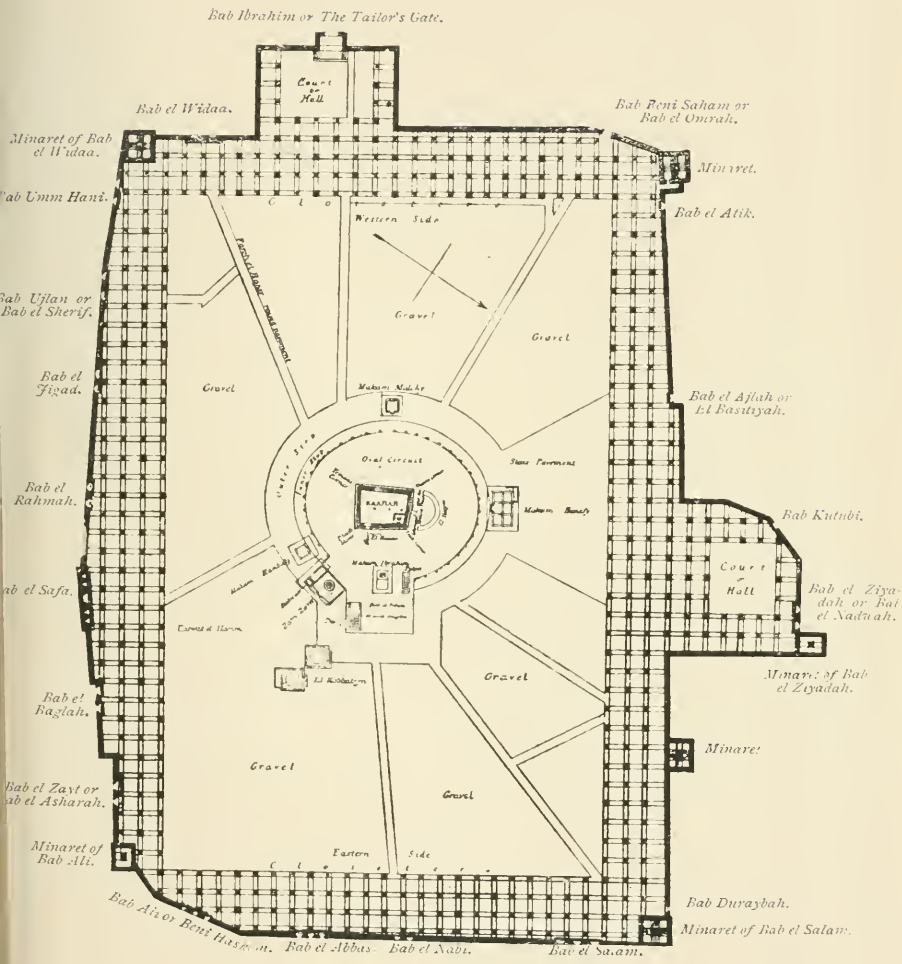


Fig. 1.
Photographed from the original.

ARAB STAMP, WITH A VIEW OF THE *BEIT ULLAH* AT MECCA.

PLATE II.



THE *BEIT ULLAH* AT MECCA.

Reduced from the Plate in Ali bey's "Travels," Paris, 1813.

but these may no doubt be attributed to the engraver's desire to produce an attractive picture.

The Stamp (Pl. I) shows the raised pavement, *Farsh el Hajar* (1) and other paths leading from various gates towards the shrine; the oval space in the centre of the quadrangle, in which is the Kaaba or Sacred Shrine (2); the four domed buildings, *Makam Maleky* (3), *Makam Hanafy* (4), *Makam Hanbaly* (5), and *Makam Ibrahim* (6), from which the Imauns of the four orthodox sects of Mohammedans address their adherents, and to the right of this is the lofty pulpit from which the Friday Sermon is preached. We also find the *Beni Shaybah* (7), and the sacred well *Zem-Zem* (8); and the four corner minarets (9, 10, 11, 12) named respectively, *Bab el Widaa; Bab Beni Saham; Bab Ali;* and *Bab el Salam.* In addition there is a lofty minaret (13) shown which does not appear in Ali bey's plan, and may perhaps be intended for the Bab el Nabi. Space did not allow of the introduction of any of the buildings which project beyond the rectangle, but so far as it goes, comparison with Ali bey's plan seems to show that the engraving is a fairly accurate representation of the Kaaba and its surroundings.

It is not easy to say what the Stamp was used for, but the subject of the engraving seems to point to its use having been in connection with Mecca. It may have been impressed on the "Permits" given to the pilgrims to Mecca. Such "Permits" were issued, at all events, at Suez, which is the port from which vast numbers of pilgrims embark for Yambu on the Red Sea, which is the nearest point for Medina. Acre is too far off the direct route to Mecca to make it likely that the Stamp was used there for such a purpose, but it may have been brought there by some official from Suez, or even from Mecca itself. The Stamp is interesting as a genuine native representation of the building which is regarded by all Mohammedans as the most sacred spot in the whole world.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C., on Wednesday, December 14th, 1904, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Percy E. Newberry:—"Notes on the Early History of Egypt."

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W. H. Rylands	...	...	£2 2 0
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——— La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte.
——— Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos.
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Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
Berlin Museum. Ægyptische Urkunden.
,, ,, Griechische und Koptische Urkunden.
BISSING, BARON VON, "Metalgefässe" (*Cat. Gen. du Musée du Caire*).
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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1904.

Seventh Meeting, December 14th, 1904.

F. LEGGE

IN THE CHAIR.

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Author, Dr. D. Völter.—"Aegypten und die Bibel."

From F. D. Mocatta, *F.S.A.*—"A Catalogue of the Library of Frederick David Mocatta."

From Joseph Pollard.—"Assyrian Texts," by E. A. Wallis Budge.

" "An Assyrian Grammar," by A. H. Sayce.

From the Author, Dr. L. Belléli.—"Un Nouvel Apocryphe."

From E. J. Pilcher.—"Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the translation of Aquila," by F. C. Burkitt.

From the Publishers.—"Recueil des inscriptions Égyptiennes du Sinai," by Raymond Weil.

The following Paper was read :—

Percy E. Newberry: "Notes on the Early History of Egypt."

The subject was discussed by Miss Murray, Dr. Löwe, the Secretary, and the Chairman.

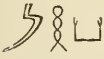
Thanks were returned for this communication.

UNE HYPOTHÈSE AU SUJET DE LA VOCALISATION ÉGYPTIENNE.

Par Victor Loret.

(*Continued from page* 234.)

Nous verrons plus loin ce qu'il faut penser de cette question de l'emploi des syllabiques. Quant à la question d'esthétique, de carrure des hiéroglyphes, elle me paraît, comme à MM. Max Müller et Lacau, avoir joué un rôle capital dans l'orthographe égyptienne. Il semble même, quand on examine les faits en masse, que, pour les Egyptiens, les signes constituant un mot formaient un groupement d'ensemble dont les éléments pouvaient être disposés graphiquement selon le caprice du calligraphe ou du graveur. L'important était seulement que tous les signes représentant la partie phonétique d'un mot fussent réunis en un seul et intime groupement ; l'ordre des signes, au moins à l'origine, importait peu, et le lecteur était habitué à rétablir rapidement, à la seule vue d'un ensemble, l'ordre logique des éléments qui le constituaient. Certes, les choses changèrent dans la suite et les transpositions capricieuses de signes se firent de plus en plus rares, mais, comme l'a très bien montré M. Lacau, elles ne disparurent jamais complètement et nous nous sommes accoutumés tout comme les anciens Egyptiens, à lire , sans la moindre difficulté, quand un texte ptolémaïque nous donne .

Il suffit de parcourir, dans les *Royal Tombs* de F. Petrie, les textes des deux ou trois premières dynasties pour remarquer combien les plus anciens Egyptiens attachaient peu d'importance à l'ordre dans lequel ils disposaient les signes de leur écriture. Tel roi se nomme aussi souvent que . Tel particulier écrit son nom (I, 25/54, 55), ou (II, 20/161), ou  (I, 25/53, 56). L'exemple le plus curieux et le plus frappant est celui d'un nom de domaine, qui est écrit de tant de manières différentes, quant à l'ordre des signes, qu'il nous est ab-

solument impossible de deviner au juste comment il s'appelait : (I, 24/45 ; II, 20/162), (II, 18/136, 19/153, 20/161), (II, 20/163), (I, 24/47), (II, 19/149).

Il me paraît évident que des gens qu'une telle élasticité graphique n'empêchait pas de se reconnaître dans leur écriture ne devaient dans la suite éprouver qu'une difficulté fort modérée à lire un mot écrit , tout comme ils lisaient d'une seule et même manière un mot écrit , ou un nom de pharaon écrit ou . Donc, en fait, l'hypothèse que j'expose ici n'a rien de particulièrement invraisemblable.

Mais il y a mieux, et c'est le moment d'insister sur l'emploi des syllabiques dont a parlé M. Max Müller. Prenons le verbe "naître," écrit . De ce verbe, ayons à écrire une forme MOUS, par exemple. Comment faire ? Si nous écrivons , rien ne nous indique qu'il faille lire MOUS plutôt que MSOU. Si nous écrivons , la même difficulté se présente : ce groupe représente-t-il MOUS ou OUMS ? Si, pour nous tirer d'affaire, nous faisons intervenir le complément phonetique , la difficulté ne fait qu'augmenter. Une forme , d'après nos idées modernes, répondrait mieux à MSOU qu'à MOUS. Plaçons le avant le et écrivons : régulièrement, il nous faudra transcrire MSOUS et non MOUS. Naturellement, tout autre signe syllabique se présente dans les mêmes conditions que et, même, le choix d'un syllabique trilitère comme ou ne ferait que multiplier les complications.

En réalité, il nous faut bien reconnaître qu'il est absolument impossible, avec le système syllabique des Egyptiens, d'écrire à sa place une voyelle interne dans un mot écrit à l'aide d'un syllabique. Or, les mots écrits au moyen de syllabiques représentent de beaucoup

la majorité dans le lexique égyptien. Il a dû même exister un temps où l'on ne connaissait que des syllabiques, et je ne suis pas sûr que les lettres que l'on rencontre sur les plus anciens monuments des dynasties thinites solent déjà de véritables lettres. Il est possible que, dans , □ soit encore un syllabique et il cet certain que , dans la bannière du roi "Serpent," n'est pas une signe alphabétique mais plus vraisemblablement le syllabique , comme j'ai eu l'occasion de le proposer.[13] On sait maintenant que est resté longtemps un syllabique , au moins jusqu'à la XVIIIe dynastie, comme le prouve l'orthographe (= ⲁⲛⲏⲑⲟⲩⲛ, *anethum*) du *Papyrus Ebers*, et j'espère démontrer un jour que n'est pas une aspirée différente de , mais bien un syllabique , analogue à .

Quoi qu'il en soit, il est certain que, pour exprimer une voyelle à l'intérieur d'un mot écrit au moyen d'un syllabique, les Egyptiens ont dû adopter un système conventionnel. Ils avaient le choix entre trois procédés : ou bien écrire la voyelle avant le syllabique, ; ou bien la placer après le syllabique, ; ou bien l'exprimer entre le syllabique et son complément phonétique, . Mais aucun de ces procédés ne paraît complètement satisfaisant.

Dans ,—outre qu'une lecture OUMS est possible,—la voyelle prenant le pas sur la partie radicale du mot présente quelque chose d'anormal et d'illogique. D'après la nature de la langue égyptienne, un mot est surtout caractérisé par sa charpente consonantique et la voyelle interne n'est que l'accessoire. La placer en tête du mot eût été maladroit et peu naturel, et il est vraisemblable que les Egyptiens n'y ont jamais songé.

Dans , la voyelle interne est mieux à sa place ; elle laisse bien en évidence, au premier rang, la partie principale, la carcasse

[13] V. Loret, *Quelques idées sur la forme primitive de certaines religions égyptiennes*, dans la *Revue égyptologique*, t. XI, p. 72.

du mot, et occupe la place discrète d'une indication vocalique. Mais une difficulté se présente. Si, pour telle ou telle raison, un radical doit prendre une désinence en , comment distinguer, dans l'écriture, ce désinentiel d'un interne ?

Reste le troisième procédé, . C'est, je crois, celui qui nous semblerait aujourd'hui le plus simple et le plus clair. Evidemment, on pouvait être tenté de lire ce groupe msous, mais il suffisait de décider que, lorsqu'on voulait écrire msous, on devait exprimer le deux fois, , pour obtenir une règle bien nette et bien logique. Et, en fait, cette règle, les Egyptiens l'ont appliquée. Dans un mot comme , qui est si fréquent dans les textes, il ne viendra à aucun égyptologue l'idée de transcrire smam au lieu de sam ; on sent instinctivement que, en plaçant le entre le syllabique et son complément phonétique , les Egyptiens ont voulu exprimer par là une vocalisation interne. De même, dans le mot très commun (= , *linum*), on lira tout naturellement máhi et non mhàhi. Enfin, dans (Mar., *Cat. d'Abyd.*, No. 1244), dans (Düm., *Temp. Inschr.*, I, 34/2), on n'hésitera pas à transcrire pir, dibdib et non prir et dbibdbib. Il y a là une tentative orthographique intéressante, dont il y aurait lieu de rechercher d'autres exemples. Peut-être ce procédé, auquel on a prêté jusqu'ici peu d'attention, a-t-il été plus répandu qu'on le croit. Mais, ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il n'a pas généralement prévalu et qu'on ne le rencontre que par exception.

Nous en arrivons donc à cette constatation, que les Egyptiens, pour exprimer une voyelle interne dans un mot écrit au moyen d'un syllabique consonantique, ont rejeté le premier procédé possible (voyelle en tête) et n'ont employé le troisième (voyelle entre le syllabique et son complément phonétique) que dans des cas très rares. Il nous en faut nécessairement conclure que c'est le second procédé (voyelle à la suite) qui leur a paru le plus pratique. Et je crois que la chose peut s'expliquer aisément par suite de l'évolution naturelle du système hiéroglyphique.

En effet, pour écrire une voyelle entre un syllabique et son complément phonétique, il faut,—la chose va de soi,—que ce syllabique appelle nécessairement un complément phonétique. Or, cette nécessité d'un complément phonétique ne se présente pas à l'origine de l'écriture. A quoi bon, par exemple, faire suivre d'un , puisque tout seul ne peut se lire que MN? Aussi, le nom de Ménès s'écrit-il tout simplement à l'origine. Ce n'est que lorsque,—par suite d'un long usage et de contagions inévitables,—plusieurs syllabiques purent se confondre, qu'il devint nécessaire, pour les distinguer, de les accompagner d'un de leurs éléments phonétiques.

A l'origine, se lisait HN, se lisait MR et se lisait BA. Les trois signes se confondirent rapidement dans le dessin, sous la forme . La troisième lecture, BA, disparut de bonne heure; représenta donc à la fois HN et MR et nécessita les orthographes distinctives et . A l'origine, avait deux formes très différentes, selon qu'il devait se lire GS ou ÀM. La confusion des deux formes en une seule, , amena bientôt les orthographes et . Il en est de même pour bien d'autres signes, dont l'histoire serait extrêmement curieuse à étudier dans son ensemble, mais, ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que les syllabiques primitifs ne comportaient pas de compléments phonétiques et que, par conséquent, il était impossible aux premiers Egyptiens d'écrire une voyelle interne entre un syllabique et son complément phonétique.

Dans ces conditions, on comprend que, des trois procédés que j'ai indiqués, il ne restait aux plus anciens Egyptiens que le second à employer, celui qui consistait à écrire pour MOUR, pour MOUS. L'habitude, une fois prise, persista malgré les perfectionnements apportés peu-à-peu au système graphique et, quand les compléments phonétiques firent leur apparition, la voyelle interne conserva sa place à la fin du mot et fut écrite à la suite du complément phonétique: , . Puis, par analogie et par généralisation, le même procédé fut employé lors même que les mots ne comportaient pas de syllabiques et ne s'écrivaient qu'au moyen de lettres, comme dans la plus ancienne forme du nom du dieu

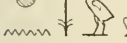
Khouns, (Ounas, 510; Téta, 323). Rien, en somme, n'eût empêché d'écrire , mais l'œil etait de longue date accoutumé à trouver la voyelle interne écrite en dernier et il eût paru à juste titre irrationnel d'écrire avec la voyelle à sa place normale, tandis qu'on ne pouvait écrire autrement qu'avec la voyelle à sa place conventionnelle. Ce besoin de symétrie et d'uniformité se retrouve du reste dans l'emploi des compléments phonétiques. En réalité, les syllabiques à valeurs multiples devraient seuls être accompagnés de compléments phonétiques; ceux qui n'ont qu'une seule valeur n'ont nul besoin de cet artifice d'écriture. Néanmoins, des signes comme , , sont suivis du et du , qui leur sont inutiles, uniquement parce que d'autres signes, comme et ont plusieurs valeurs (OUAS + DJÀM, OUB + HAM) et doivent être suivis d'une lettre indicatrice. On écrivit , par imitation, parce qu'on écrivait ou , tout comme on écrivit , par imitation, parce qu'on écrivait ou .

Comme on le voit, la règle nouvelle de transcription que je propose,—règle qui m'a été suggérée par le relevé d'un certain nombre de mots à voyelle finale en apparence mais interne en réalité, —non seulement ne se heurte à aucune des habitudes graphiques des anciens Egyptiens, mais rencontre au contraire, dans ces habitudes mêmes, sa raison d'être et son explication logique.[14]

Lyon, 17 *février*, 1904.

[14] Dans la seconde édition de son *Ægyptische Grammatik* (1902), § 60, M. Erman admet, pour les trois mots suivants, la transposition de la lettre finale à l'intérieur du syllabique: , et , "bei denen das nachgesetzte in die Silbenzeichen einzuschalten ist."

Note additionnelle.—Je venais à peine de terminer la rédaction des pages qu'on vient de lire, que me parvenait le tome III des *Oeuvres diverses* de Chabas. J'ai eu l'agréable surprise d'y constater que, déjà en 1866, Chabas avait remarqué certains des faits qui m'avaient frappé, et qu'il en avait tiré la même conclusion que moi.

Dans un article intitulé *Quelques observations sur l'écriture et sur la langue de l'ancienne Egypte*,[15] il fait remarquer (pp. 72–73) que, dans les noms ,  , la voyelle n'est pas finale, mais interne, et qu'il convient, d'après les transcriptions grecques, de lire *Anoup*, *Khnoum*, *Toum* et *Khouns*. De ces observations, il déduit le principe suivant (p. 70): "Il peut se faire que des voyelles écrites . . . à la fin des mots soient des voyelles médiales et doivent être articulées, non pas à leur place apparente, mais dans le corps des mots."

Aucune approbation de mes idées,—et je m'attendais peu à cette approbation posthume,—ne pouvait m'être plus précieuse, et je reconnais avec plaisir à Chabas le droit incontestable de priorité.

THE GOD ASSHUR AND THE EPIC OF "MARDUK AND TIAMAT."

By Sir H. H. Howorth, *K.C.I.E.*, *F.R.S.*

The series of tablets in the British Museum, long known as the Creation Tablets, have recently been re-edited in an ideal edition by Mr. King, and I am tempted to discuss a minor question about them which has not been, I think, sufficiently considered.

The English name given to the series is quite a misnomer. The tablets are not in any sense professedly or impliedly a treatise on cosmogony, or an account of the Creation of the Universe. They embody an epic narrative in glorification of Marduk the God of Babylon, which was doubtless composed to enhance his reputation at the expense of the older gods of Babylonia and to affirm his omnipotence, and the cosmological statements they contain are subsidiary and parenthetical.

[15] F. Chabas, *Oeuvres diverses*, t. III (1903), pp. 63–76, article réimprimé d'après *Zeitschr.* 1866, pp. 42–49. Ce volume de Chabas, bien qu'il porte la date de 1903, n'a paru qu'en janvier ou février 1904.

The notion that the narrative, either in form or purpose, is in any way a parallel to that in the first chapter of Genesis, seems to me quite misleading, and the, perhaps accidental, circumstance that the number of the tablets is seven and that cosmological statements are interwoven in it, do not in any way make it a parallel to the Bible story of Creation.

That the Jewish cosmogony and the cosmogony of Babylonia were closely connected, and that a considerable part of the former was derived from the latter, I have no doubt whatever about. That is a question, however, I am not discussing, but limiting myself to the particular literary document which from its initial words was known to the Assyrians and later Babylonians as *Enuma ilis*, and which is written on a series of seven tablets.

Of this series we have more than one copy extant, all of them being fragmentary. These copies exhibit few variants, and are clearly very good representations of the original text of the composition. Some of them are of Assyrian origin, and were composed or copied for the great library of Asshurbanipal at Nineveh; others were written in Babylonia and are preserved on tablets of a late date, badly baked, and written in the late Babylonian form of the cuneiform writing, and, so far as we can judge, they were written after the Assyrian copies in the library of Asshurbanipal.

I know of no very early copy or fragment of a copy of the story, nor of any evidence that such an early copy ever existed anywhere. So far as the external evidence goes, therefore, it is plain, as Prof. Sayce long ago urged, that the document is a late composition. Composed, not in the days of Babylonian supremacy, but in days when Assyria had overthrown that supremacy and become the dominant power in Babylonia; Prof. Sayce says in fact that he doubts whether the epic in its present form is older than the time of Asshurbanipal. It is a misnomer, therefore, to speak of it as a Babylonian document. It was distinctly an Assyrian document.

Let us turn, however, from the external to the internal evidence.

In describing the origin of the gods in the first tablet, and in the references to the gods in subsequent tablets of all the editions of the series, it is a remarkable fact that a very prominent god in the early mythology of Chaldea is not named at all in them, or rather he is not referred to by the name he usually bears. I mean the god Enlil, or as the name was pronounced in accordance with the usual harmony of consonants among the Sumerian people, Illil or Ellil. He

was the great god of Nippur, and the principal god in the great triad of the Gods of primitive Chaldea. His two companions in the triad, Anu and Ea, occur repeatedly in the Creation tablets. How comes it that Enlil or Illil is not named in them anywhere under that name? It may be said that this was because the name Enlil or Illil was replaced by that of Bel by the Babylonians, and, as is usually argued, Enlil or Illil was the elder Bel as Marduk was the younger Bel, and that we should not therefore expect to find the old name Enlil in either a late Babylonian or an Assyrian document, but rather the substituted name Bel. This argument has two infirmities. In the first place Damaskios, who gives us, in Greek, a remarkably accurate transcript of the first lines of the First Tablet, does mention Enlil or Illil, which he has corrupted into Illinos, and whom he names with Anu and Ea, calling them Anos and Eas respectively. Secondly, the name Bel does not occur in any of the earlier tablets nor until the last line of tablet IV. It occurs again in tablet V, line 8, and in tablet VII, lines 6 and 116, and in every case but the last, to which I shall revert, I believe the reference to be to Marduk—the younger Bel as he is called. It is plain, therefore, that in the earlier half of the Epic at all events, and probably in all of it, Enlil or Illil is not mentioned either under his original name or under that of Bel. This is a very curious fact. Let us try and analyse it somewhat. The name Enlil or Illil is unlike the names of the other two gods in the early triad, namely Ea and Anu, in not being a true name, but an appellative. It is compounded of two ideographic elements, one with the sound of En, and the other of Lil or Kit. That it ought to be sounded Enlil and not Enkit is clear from the transcription of it by Damaskios.

Hommel has identified the ideogram representing En as originally representing a throne (*Hier. Ursp. der Keilinsch. Paris Congr. of Orientalists*), hence ruler or lord, and Delitzsch argues that it is Semitic in origin, being an epitome of Enu, a synonym of bêlu with the meaning of lord. Lil is probably also a Semitic word, and, as Père Lagrange says, it is the name of a demon, or rather of a group of demons, those of the tempest and of the night. Like Professor Sayce, he compares it with the Hebrew לילית Lilith, a female demon of the same kind mentioned by Isaiah, and he further suggests also a plausible comparison with ליל the night (*Études*, etc., 93). Lilith is mentioned by Isaiah, ch. xxxiv, 13, 14, as living in the wastes with wild beasts. It is feminine in form, and represents

doubtless a female demon. The Kabbalistic Jews give her a prominent place in the demonology of the Talmud, where she is made to have connection with Adam.

Enlil or Illil is not therefore a true name. "Lord of demons" answers to such appellatives as Lord of Hosts applied to Jehovah in the Bible. Bel, "the Lord," simply, was a similar appellative, and it seems in fact to be, as Father Lagrange urges, only a synonym for the initial clause in the ideogram En lil, namely, En. Bel was to the Babylonians "the Lord" *par excellence*. What personal or actual name was given him by the Babylonians it would be interesting to try and discover. Baal, another form of Bel, was similarly used among the Canaanites and Phœnicians in the same way. The Babylonian use of the name may be tested by the fact that they not only seem to have used it for Enlil or Ellil, but also in composition, and styled their own local god Bel Marduk. It is therefore not improbable that a god who among the early and later Babylonians was referred to by an appellative and not a real name, may occur in the tablets we are discussing under another designation altogether, and it seems to me that a comparison of the first tablet with Damaskios makes it clear that he does so occur under the name of Anshar, for where Damaskios writes Illinos, the tablet gives Anshar.

The name Anshar occurs in the first tablet in two quite inconsistent ways. In one line, line 12, it appears as that of the complement of Kishar among the ancestors of the real gods, and in other places as the senior among the gods. In both cases it is written with the same characters. In order to explain the inconsistency, which has not been hitherto pointed out, I must analyse these characters.

I would begin by putting in a mild protest against the habit of some Assyriologists of attempting in all cases to find some useful meaning in the ideograms themselves. When used for transcribing names, especially foreign names, these ideograms represent nothing but sounds, and are phonological symbols only. What I wish to urge is that Anshar, being an ideographic way of representing a name, it is altogether a misleading thing to analyse the meaning of its component factors as a guide to the meaning of the name. The factors, An and Shar, mean respectively Heaven and Host, and have been translated Host of heaven. That Anshar read as a whole meant anything of the kind is quite another thing.

The author of a late Assyrian syllabary may in analysing old ideo-

grams, whether in names or otherwise, have indulged in such etymologies: it was part of his trade; and in regard to words other than proper names belonging to the language of the people who invented the ideograms, the process is perfectly legitimate; but in the case of Anshar we have to do, as we shall see, with a confessedly foreign and probably a Semitic name, while the meaning of the ideograms has to be made out by means not of Semitic, but of Sumerian. This seems to me conclusive; but this is not all. Host of heaven and Host of earth (as Kishar may be analysed to mean), are not personal names at all, but collective names of multitude. How could a multitude or crowd or host marry another host and beget certain gods, as in tablet I, 15? How, again, could what is represented by such a general term be described as the Father of the Gods, as giving orders and controlling policy, as Anshar is described as doing in several places in the Epic, for example?

In tablet II, lines 8, 9, it is again so used, and he is expressly made the father of Ea.

In tablet I, line 14 and II, lines 72, 79, 113, 114, and 115, it is again so used, and he is made the father of Anu.

In tablet III, line 1 and line 13, he is again mentioned, and in the latter is apostrophised as the son of Tiamat, as also in line 71.

In tablet III, 131, etc., he is treated and spoken of as the supreme God.

In tablet IV, line 125, Marduk is finally made to conquer Tiamat in order to establish Anshar's triumph over the enemy.

In all these cases Anshar is used in a personal and not a collective sense. Damaskios, in his translation of line 12 into Greek, makes Assoros masculine and Kissaré feminine, showing that he treats them not as hosts, but as a male and female link in the genealogy. Again, in a well-known tablet, where a number of early deities or monsters are equated with Anu and Anunit, the personal god and goddess of heaven, Anshar and Kishar duly appear. In that case, again, Anshar and Kishar could not have been looked upon as multiple or collective nouns. "Hosts of heaven" is in fact an impossible form for a personal god.

Let us turn elsewhere, then, for an explanation of the paradox. Here again Damaskios is of service. In his Greek translation of line 12 of tablet I he does not give us Ανσσορος, but Ασσορος, or Asshur. He therefore clearly identified Anshar with the well-known god Asshur, and this in the genealogical part of the tablet.

It is interesting to find that Anshar has in fact been treated as a form of Asshur by more than one notable writer on entirely different grounds to those here stated. Thus Jastrof makes Anshar the primitive form from which Asshur was derived. He says: "This form Anshar would, according to the phonetic laws prevailing in Assyria, tend to become Ashshar by the assimilation of the *n* to the following consonant" (*Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 197).

I cannot for a moment accept this. Asshur was the Semitic god of a very pure Semitic race, the Assyrians, and like their other gods such as Ishtar and Adad, etc., his name was doubtless a Semitic word, and we in fact know its origin or have the strongest reason to believe we know it, and it precludes the notion that it was derived from any primitive An Shar; thus Delitzsch explains Asshur as a Semitic gloss, and as meaning "heilbringenden, heiligen, Gott." *Lesestücke*, 4th Ed., 192. While Prof. Sayce long before, in his Hibbert Lectures, 124—a mine of unexplored suggestion—writes: "The name Assur (*i.e.* Asshur) is frequently represented by a character which among other ideographic values had that of 'good.' The name was accordingly explained by the late Assyrians as 'the good God,' with a reference, perhaps, to their own words *asiru*, righteous, and *asirtu*, righteousness." Asshur therefore meant the good or holy, and was thus the exact equivalent of our English word God. It is a striking fact that in one inscription his name is repeated three times as the exordium to the script that follows, and Delitzsch very naturally compares this with the "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts" of the Scripture. Asshur was the supreme god of the land whence Abraham and his family are said to have set out on their ast caravan journey towards Palestine, and it seems to me that he resembles Jehovah in his attributes more than any other ancient god.

The Semitic origin and explanation of the name are again supported by the fact that, so far as I know, it never occurs at all in the writings of early Chaldea written in more or less pictorial script, and found by the French at Tell Loh, the ancient Shirpurla or Lagash. If it had been a Sumerian name of some divinity known to the Sumerians, it would assuredly have been mentioned among the other Sumerian gods of whom we know so many.

It first occurs in the inscriptions of the great Semitic ruler Khammurabi.

Every kind of evidence therefore converges upon the conclusion that the God Asshur bore a purely Semitic name. Let us now refer to the earlier notices of the name.

In the first place it is now generally agreed that the name *Asshur*, as the god's name, is the same as that of the city of *Asshur*, where he was so long worshipped. Both are written with the same ideograms. "The Assyrians," says Professor Sayce, "wrote both alike, sometimes with *ss*, sometimes with *s*, and the fact that the name of the country is often expressed by attaching the determinative affix of locality to the name of the god, proves that they were not conscious of any difference, phonetic or otherwise, between the two. In such matters we cannot be wiser than our Assyrian teachers." (Hibbert Lectures, 125–6 note.) This seems unanswerable. I cannot, however, reconcile it with another statement of his on page 125, where he says, "the city of Assur had nothing to do with the god." In this he differs from all authorities known to me, as he does when he derives the name of the city from the ideogram reading Aushar, and meaning "water bank." He overlooks, I think, that this very ideogram stands for the god in the earliest, purely Assyrian, inscription we have got, and that in proper names it is most unsafe to deduce anything from the actual pictorial meaning of the ideograms. It seems to me that "the city of Asshur" was simply "the city of the god Asshur," with the determinative of god left out, just as the Sumerian name of Nippur was En lil ki, the city of Enlil, and Eridu was En ki, the city of the Lord, *i.e.* in this case of Ea.

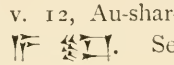
After writing this sentence, I came across the following passage of Jastrof: "Asshur is the only instance that we have of a god expressly giving his name to a city, for the name of the city can only be derived from that of the god, and not *vice versâ*. The identification of the god with his favourite town must have been so complete, that the town, which probably had some specific name of its own, became known simply as the 'City of the God Asshur.' From such a designation it is but a small step to call the city simply Asshur. The difference between the god and the city would be indicated by the determinative for deity, which was only attached to the former, while the latter was written with the determinative attached to towns. When this city of Asshur extended its bounds until it became co-equal with the domain of Assyria, the name of the god was transferred to the entire northern district of Mesopotamia,

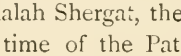
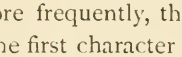
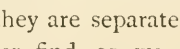
which, as the country of the god Asshur, was written with the determinative for country" (*op. cit.*, 196).

Let us now turn to the earlier occurrences of the name. In the inscriptions of Khammurabi it occurs three times, twice as that of the city and once as that of the god in composition.

It occurs in the exordium to the Monolith inscription of Khammurabi, found at Susa by Father Scheil, where, among other gods, he appeals to the protecting god of the city of Au shar.

In one of his letters to Sin iddina, we read of the country of Asshur. See King, *Inscriptions of Khammurabi*, page 4.

Thirdly, Dr. Pinches found the name in composition in a personal name otherwise entirely Semitic on one of Khammurabi's tablets, v. 12, Au-shar-idinnam. (The god) Au shar has given  . See Pinches, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1901, 14.

The next occurrence of the name is in the earliest inscriptions from Kalah Shergat, the ancient Asshur. In the earliest of these, of the time of the Patesi, Iri shum, *circ.* 2000 B.C., the name is written differently, thus,  , *i.e.*, A-shur. It is in this form that Irishum invokes Asshur as his lord. In other and later inscriptions, and more frequently, the name is written with other syllables, viz.,  , the first character of which reads Ash and the second as before shur, thus reading Ashshur. This is the form in Assyrian, where the characters are run together to form one ideogram, but in Babylonian they are separated. Dr. Pinches points out as obvious that we never find, as we should expect, the characters  , *i.e.* Ash shur used for the name.

These various ways of writing the name suggest the real key to the difficulty which has arisen with the form An shar. It seems to me to be merely another way, a clumsy way, of writing the name Asshur by means of two early ideograms, used as syllables.

It is interesting to find that Anshar has in fact been treated as a form of Asshur by more than one notable writer on entirely different grounds to that here stated. See *Zeits. für Assyriologie* I, 1 ff., and 209 ff., and Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 275; see also Delitzsch, *Das Baby. Weltschopfungsepoch*, 173 and 175.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE LATER EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES.

By Prof. Flinders Petrie, *F.R.S.*, *F.B.A.*

The XXIst Dynasty Bandages.—After comparing all the datings on the Theban bandages and other mummy furniture, it does not appear possible to refer them uniformly to either the Tanite reigns or the Theban reigns. The allotments of the datings to the kings are as follows :—

1 with year *of* a Theban,
2 ,, ,, *of* a Tanite,
1 ,, ,, and Theban name,
2 ,, ,, and Tanite name,
3 ,, Tanite name and a year after,
Many with Theban name and a year after.

We cannot draw any certain results as to those datings which are not stated to belong to the king named, when we see so much diversity where a king's reign is clearly named. Hence all systems of relation that have been proposed between the Tanite and Theban lines, must be set aside so far as they depend on the datings being supposed to belong entirely to one or the other family. The details of the dates concluded from this period are too complex to enter on here.

Queen Hent-taui I was certainly the mother rather than the wife of Pinezem, as he is shown doing homage to her (*Recueil*, XIX, 20); and this accords with her position between his wife Maatkara and his grandmother Nezemt (*Recueil*, XIV, 32). She was daughter of the royal female Thentamen, and is called "king's daughter's daughter" in one place on her coffin. By the family ages probably Thentamen was a daughter of Ramessu XII.

Queen Ast-em-kheb reigned independently at El Heybeh; the bricks with her name and Pinezem, belong not to Pinezem II, under whom she died, but to her father Pinezem I, as he is called *maat-kheru*. At his death she ruled alone, and afterwards married Menkheperra.

Pasebkhanu.—There has been some confusion between three kings of this name, who are certainly distinct as shown by their throne names. Pasebkhanu I of Tanis was *Aa-kheper-ra;* Pasebkhanu II of Tanis was *Hez-heq-ra*, and varied the name as Hor Pasebkhanu; and Pasebkhanu of Thebes was *Tat-kheperu-ra*.

The Origin of the XXIInd Dynasty.—This has been commonly supposed to go back six generations before Sheshenq I to Tahenbuyuaua, and from this name a Libyan ancestry has been deduced. The authority is the stele of Horpasen. On that there are five generations back to a couple Nemareth and Thentspeh; then it continues *si neb taui* Uasarkon II, and up to Sheshenq I. Then without *any* connective *si*, "son of," it repeats the names of Nemareth and Thentspeh and goes up another line of descent to Tahenbuyuaua. To interpret this part as the ancestry of Sheshenq I requires the insertion of *si*, which does not exist after the name of Sheshenq, and also requires the very unlikely event of a man and wife having the same names as another man and wife some generations earlier. On the other view of a divided genealogy, these are a repetition of the same people in order to pick up the family line again, and the only error in the text would be writing ○ I for ○ ⌓. Hence I conclude that the family history lies thus:—

Tahenbuyuaua	Sheshenq I
4 generations to	3 generations to

Namareth = Thentspeh

4 generations to

Horpasen.

Thus the *Tahen* name, even if Libyan, belongs to a collateral family which did not marry into the royal line till the daughter of Uasarkon II.

We can then recognise in Sheshenq (or Sheshenqu of the Assyrian history) the same name as is found on Babylonian tablets as Sheshenqu, "the man of Shushan." Namart and Tiklat were called from the leopard and tiger; and the resemblance of Uasarkon and Sargon is the weakest point of the eastern and Semitic connections of this family.

The Sukkiim.—This people has not yet been identified, and some objections to the history of Shishak have been raised upon this. But the name is written with *sad* and *qoph*, the same as in Succoth, which was the Egyptian Thuku. Hence the Sukkiim are the people of the eastern frontier of Egypt, the most likely to be used by Shishak for his Judaen war.

Date of Shishak's War.—This must have been about the xxth year of his reign, as he carved the account on his new buildings at Karnak, the stone of which was quarried in his xxist

year; and he is not likely to have postponed all record of his victories for several years.

Zerah.—The chronology, which various new facts limit within only a very few years of possible change, would place the war of Zerah within the reign of Uasarkon I. The strong reasons for these names being identical have never been refuted, though ignored in recent years. (1) Zerah on defeat fled back along the Egyptian road to Gerar. (2) His cities round Gerar are plundered. (3) The invaders were Cushim and Lubim or Libyans. None of these points will agree to Zerah being other than an Egyptian king.

Musri.—Lately Dr. Winckler has brought forward what he considers the best proofs that there was a kingdom of Musri in N. Arabia distinct from Egypt. (*Hibbert Journal*, April, 1904.) But none of his data are inconsistent with the kingdom of Egypt in its eastern extension over Sinai, and the desert into Palestine, which was the normal condition of its power. That the whole kingdom should be called Musri—Egypt—is only like Wales or Scotland being commonly included in the name England when writing from abroad. Two cases deserve explanation. Tiglath Pileser III appointed a resident over Musri, just after the XXIInd dynasty was broken up, and the land was divided among a couple of dozen petty kings; very likely the king of the isthmus may have accepted a resident from Assyria, and such would be a resident in Musri. Again, there is a passage naming "the borders of Musri which is beside Melukhkha;" this is quite a natural description of the desert province of the borders of Egypt which adjoins N. Arabia. There does not seem then any sufficient ground for supposing an entirely independent kingdom of Musri adjoining the well known Musri—Egypt.

Zet.—No satisfactory explanation of this name has been given. It occurs in only one version of Manetho at the end of the XXIIIrd dynasty. Possibly an epitomiser mistook a summary of years at the end of this period, and ZΠT might be made into a false name as ZHT. If so this would give 387 years; and the interval from the close of the Ramessides to the rise of the Ethiopians at the end of the XXIIIrd dynasty appears to be 381 years, within narrow limits of uncertainty. This may explain this name, as being corrupted from one of the summations such as we know in Manetho.

Shabaka.—Difficulties have been made about his being the Sibe, *tartan* of Musri, of Sargon's annals, and Sua of II Kings

xvii, 4. But the origin of the name explains this, as Brugsch remarks that *Shaba* is the wild cat, and *ka* is only the article in Ethiopic; therefore the termination might be easily omitted in current speech. The difficulty in chronology of Shabaka and Taharqa each appearing in Jewish history eight or ten years before their reigns, is fully accounted for by their acting as viceroys of the Ethiopian king before their accession. Sibe is called the *tartan* by Sargon, and Taharqa states that he was sent to the Delta at twenty years old, long before his reign. To the Jew they appeared as kings of Egypt.

Men-kheper-ra, Rameny.—This is the last reading proposed for the king of the Louvre stele, C. 100. Ra is, however, a very unlikely element in a personal name, and it might as well read *Khmeny*: which would, perhaps, mean the man of Khmun, the name of Eshmuneyn at this period. That this petty ruler was in Upper Egypt is shown by his having dedicated a vase at Karnak.

The Rise of the Saites.—This family of local rulers can be restored with fair probability as follows:—

Monuments.		*Greek.*	*B.C.*
1. Shepses-ra.	Tafnekht I.	Tnefakhthos.	749–721.
2. Uah-ka-ra.	Bakenranf.	Bocchoris.	721–715.
3. Uah-ab-ra.	Tafnekht II.	Stefinates.	715–678.
4. Ar-ab-ra?	Nekau-ba.	Nekhepsos. / Neokhabis.	678–672.
5. Men-ab-ra.	Nekau I.	Nekhao.	672–664.
6. Uah-ab-ra.	Psamtek I.	Psammetikhos.	664–610.

The throne names of 1 and 2 are certain. 3. Uah-ab-ra is on two monuments, alternate with Shabaka, and therefore a vassal of his; this fixes him to this period, and Stefinates is doubtless Tafnekht. Ar-ab-ra is a name of this type; and this is the only likely place for it. Nekhepsos is probably the same as Neokhabis (wrongly stated to be father of Bocchoris), and this seems to be Nekau-ba, known on a sistrum. Men-ab-ra is a very common name on scarabs and cylinders of this age; and he took titles of royalty, and uraei with both crowns, so that he is most likely to be the important king Nekau I who preceded Psamtek I. On examining the family life-history it seems that these were probably all in continuous descent, as on the basis of 22-year generations they would be from 26 to 58 at accessions and 48 to 80 at death, a very consistent result through 9 generations of the family.

The Name Psamtek.—This is clearly of the same form as Shabatak, which Brugsch analyses as *Shaba* cat, *ta* son, *ka* the, "the wild cat's son." So Psamtek is "the son of Psam." On several scarabs we find a lion associated with the name, in one case only the lion and *Psam*. Now *zam* is used for a lion at Edfu; and *îzem* is a lion (*agerzäm*, leopard) in modern Libyan. If we may take this connection, Psamtek is "the lion's son." *P* is, of course, only the Egyptian article, as there is the feminine form Tsamtek. With a name of Ethiopian type, was he partly Ethiopian? His father must have married about 690 B.C., when Taharqa was wanting to secure the Delta behind him for advance in Palestine. It seems very likely that an Ethiopian princess may have been given to Nekau. Thus Psamtek would pass as the heir of both Ethiopia and Sais.

The Scythian Dominion.—This is stated by Herodotos, from Egyptian sources, as lasting 28 years in Asia: he also states that Psamtek besieged Ashdod for 29 years. These two periods are probably connected, and the history seems to have been thus:—The Scythians advanced down the Palestine coast, Psamtek went across to meet them, and turned them back at Gaza. They plundered Ashkelon and fell back a few miles north to Ashdod. This they held, blocking the way of the Egyptians for 29 years; thus to the Egyptian view they were masters in Asia during that time, and Ashdod was continually attacked by Psamtek, as being the frontier barrier.

I have not attempted to give all the reasons and references for these conclusions, as I shall state them fully in the forthcoming volume of my History. But to students these short notes will serve to point out the facts, and the new conclusions which may be drawn from them.

A MENTION OF A FLOOD IN THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By Prof. E. Naville, *D.C.L.*

(*Continued from page* 257.)

The text of Ani is so different that I must translate it separately. I cannot help thinking that the scribe has mixed up the columns which he was copying, and has introduced here things which should come further on.

Says Tum: if I see thy face there will be no suffering from thy need, for to every god has been assigned his throne among millions. Says

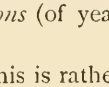
Tum: henceforth whoever has been directed by the Princes he will rule on his throne (here I make an inversion which seems obvious) *thy throne is for thy son Horus, he will inherit his throne in the isle of flames.*

Here no mention is made of the boat of millions, but in both texts we read of the "isle of flames." This occurs frequently in the Book of the Dead. "*I have come and I do the will of my heart in the isle of flames. I extinguish its fire when I go out*" (Chapter 22); the island had been the place of a great massacre of the enemies of Horus or Osiris, this massacre had been carried out by the *Seven Divine Masters*, who are said to *strike off the heads and cleave the necks, who seize the hearts and drag forth the whole hearts, and accomplish the slaughter in the isle of flames* (Chapter 71). There also the gods and the deceased received the words of magic power (Chapter 24, Ounas, l. 506). Renouf considers it as the glow of sunrise.

Here again the differences between the two versions are very great, I begin with *L. b.* (Pl. I, ll. 14, 15; III, ll. 15–17.)

And further I command that each god should see his second, my face will see thy face I exalt . . . . after this there was evidently a question by the deceased of which we have only the last words . . . . *on the day when it is done. Osiris answers: thou lastest beyond millions, Tum answers: it is a great duration of millions.*

Ani reads: *further I command that I should see his* (*my*) *second, my face will see the face of* . . I believe a word is omitted. Then comes the question by the deceased: *My lord Tum what is the duration of my life?* answer: *thou lastest beyond millions of millions, thy duration is of millions* (of years), *I have given thee what has been directed by the Princes.*

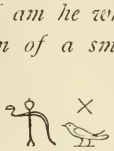
The beginning of this is rather obscure. What meaning is there in two gods looking at each other? The explanation is perhaps in the ceremony called  *to see the god* (Moret, *Rituel*, p. 55), where the text says that the face of one god is a safeguard for the other, so that in looking at each other they exert a sort of reciprocal protection.

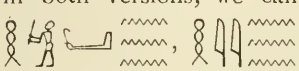
Who are the Princes who direct what will happen, and whose decrees the gods themselves seem to obey? I believe them to be cosmic genii who are sometimes mentioned as having been antecedent to the gods; "the fathers and mothers who were with me when I was still in Nu," as Rā calls them in the inscription of the

destruction of mankind; perhaps also the seven wise men of the isle of flames. They are often mentioned in the Book of the Dead, sometimes they are connected with Heliopolis, sometimes also with the Cycle of Osiris.

In the following the two texts agree fairly, and we may supply the gaps of *L. b.* from Ani: (Pl. I, ll. 16–22; III, ll. 17–23.)

And further I am going to deface all I have done: this earth will become water (or an ocean) through an inundation as it was at the beginning. I am he who remains,[6] *together with Osiris and I shall take the form of a small serpent, which no man knows and no god sees.*

The word  , which I translate to *deface*, means sometimes to erase or scratch out an inscription. It applies particularly well to what Tum intends to do; the god is going to destroy what is on the surface of the earth by covering it with water, making it to be again Nu, the great ocean, the primitive water out of which everything originated. It will be Nu again as it was at the beginning, and as it is described in the first lines of Chapter 17, where is said: *I am Tum, I am the only one, as Nu, I am Rā in his first appearance, when he first began to be a ruler.*

Thus the earth is to be water again. This is a real flood, but which is not produced by rain; it is caused by . This word is not found elsewhere under this form, but as it is in both versions, we can admit that it is correct. The word  , (Chabas, *Ani*, I, p. 79) means to rise in speaking of the Nile and water in general. (Brugsch, *Suppl.*, p. 788) is a name of the inundation. Thus we have here a deluge such as the Egyptians fancied would take place, not owing to continuous rain, as in the tradition of the Hebrews, but by water rising of itself and by its own power, as was the case with the Nile every year.

We notice here that there is no mention of the death of men, as in the inscription of the destruction of mankind, but we shall see

[6] superesse, remanere. Rougé, *Gramm.*, p. 87; Chabas, *Voyage*, p. 144.

further on that probably something like this destruction was described in a part of the chapter of which little has been preserved.

When the earth is covered with water Tum alone remains with Osiris, and he takes the appearance of a serpent so small that it is invisible to the eye of men and gods. While in Chapter 17 the first ruler who appears out of the water is Rā, here it is Osiris. Tum is still speaking:

It is good what I have done to Osiris, exalting him above all gods. I give him the power over the land of the Netherworld; his son Horus will inherit his throne in the isle of flames.

I have placed his throne in the boat of millions, I have given what the Princes have decreed (that he should do) *what he likes on earth, in order that Horus may stand on his seat and that he may take possession of his place of rest.*

Further I direct the soul of Set towards the West exalting him above all gods, and I cause his soul to be kept in the boat in order that he may show reverence to the divine body (Osiris).

The ruler will now be Osiris; his throne will be in the boat of millions. I believe that there is no doubt that these millions apply to years. When we heard, a little further back, this answer to the question of the deceased: *thy duration is beyond millions*, it is clear that these millions can only refer to time, to years or to a period of some kind. The boat of millions can only be synonymous of an eternal or everlasting boat. There the god will abide, for the earth is covered with water, and he will navigate to the isle of flames, where Horus will be enthroned as the heir of his father.

It is curious that Set is also to be in the boat, and we find an allusion to this fact in a text of quite a different kind, the famous stele of the year 400, where Set is thus addressed: *Hail, Set, son of Nut, the very brave, in the boat of millions.* Set, or rather the soul of Set, is to have reverence for the divine body which is here another name for Osiris.

Here ends what I should call the first part of the legend, at the close of which we see the earth covered with water and the gods in a boat navigating towards the isle of fire.

A running translation, made as far as possible from *L. b.*, will show how the various parts of this somewhat disconnected narrative followed each other.

"O Thoth, who are those who are like the children of Nut? They have stirred up hostilities, they have raised storms, they have

committed iniquity, they have raised rebellion, they have perpetrated murder, they have done oppression, and furthermore they make the great to be small in all I have done.

Grant, O Thoth, that that may take place which Tum has commanded, viz., thou shalt not see evil, thou shalt not suffer; for their years are but dust, and their months are nearing (their end), while they are designing evil against what I have done.

I am thy pallet, O Thoth, I have brought thee the inkstand.

Thou art not one of those evil-designing ones, there is no evil in thee, Osiris, thou art well pleasing to the lords of the earth, bearing witness to truth, free of iniquity, kindhearted, without any defect.

O my lord Tum, who are those journeying towards a country in the Netherworld where there is no water and no air? it is an abyss, deep darkness, a secluded place, so that there will be no life, no peace of heart, no pleasures of love. Let there be granted to me glory instead of water and air, and also pleasures of love and peace of heart instead of bread and beer.

Tum answers: (if I see) thy face there will be no suffering from thy need, henceforth whatever god rests in the boat (of millions) . . . . . .

Tum answers: henceforth whoever has been directed by the Princes he will rule (on his throne, and his son will inherit his throne) in the isle of fire.

And further, I command that each god should see his second; my face will see thy face, I exalt . . . . . .

. . . on the day when it is done.

Osiris answers: thou lastest beyond millions. Tum answers: it is a great duration of millions.

And further, I am going to deface all I have done; this earth will become water (or an ocean) through an inundation, as it was at the beginning. I am he who remains, together with Osiris, and I shall take the form of a small serpent, which no man knows, and no god sees.

It is good what I have done to Osiris, exalting him above all gods.

I give him the power over the land of the Netherworld; his son Horus will inherit his throne in the isle of flame.

I have placed his throne in the boat of millions, I have given him what the Princes have decreed, (that he should do) what he likes on earth, in order that Horus may stand on his seat and that he may take possession of his place of rest.

Further, I direct the soul of Set towards the West, exalting him above all gods, and I cause his soul to be kept in the boat, in order that he may show reverence to the divine body (Osiris)."

This remarkable mythological narrative is interrupted here by a prayer of the deceased to Osiris asking for the usual blessings conferred upon the dead. The papyrus of Ani ends after this prayer, but *L. b.* goes on, and carries us to Heracleopolis Sutenhunen, where there was a famous temple of Osiris, the god called there *the very terrible, he who inspires great fear.* What happens after the flood is the rule of Osiris at Heracleopolis.

The lines of *L. b.* being broken at both ends, the translation is necessarily very fragmentary:—(Pl. II, ll. 26–39.)

". . . there are shouts of joy at Sutenhunen, and delight in Anaaref . . .

. . . he inherited his throne, he rules over both lands united, all the gods are satisfied, Set . . .

. . . my lord Tum. Osiris answers O may Suti fear me, when he sees my form . . .

. . . come towards me, all men, all past, all present, and all future . . .

. . . bowing down when they see me. Impart to me terror and rouse in me might . . .

. . . all his . . . . Suti came, his face was cast down, his face touched the earth when he saw what had been done . . .

. . . falling from his nostrils. And Osiris was hoeing the blood coming out of Sutenhunen.

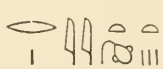
. . . to see Osiris, he found him sitting in his abode, his head was swollen . . .

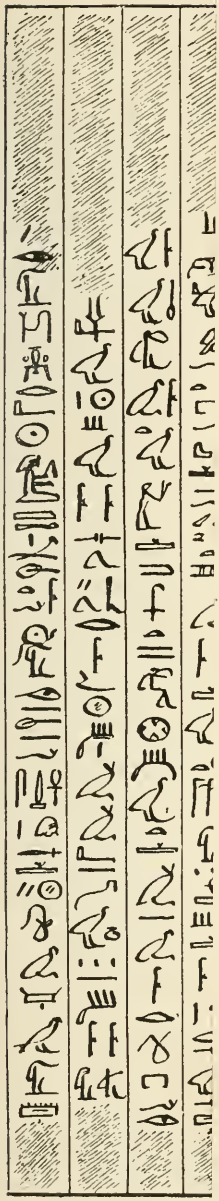
. . . touched (?) these tumours, discharging blood, ichor,[7] impurities thrown on the field . . .

. . . my face, and I raised my face . . .

. . . (Said by) Rā to Osiris, my face is firm, raise thy head, great is the fear thou inspirest. I have increased the terror of thee.

. . . come for thee out of my mouth, behold thy name is well

[7]  "sanies," "ichor coming out of a tumor." I believe it is the word which has been transcribed erroneously in the Lexicon to the Papyrus Ebers, .



24 25 26

L b

P

1 2

PLATE III.

PAPYRUS OF ANI

established for millions and millions (of years) and his name will be . . .

. . . his name in Sutenhunen, the lofty *atef crown* is on his head, millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands . . .

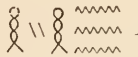
. . . cakes, loaves, oxen, geese, all things good and pure, the great one is the name of the water-district in the river . . ."

The following lines are too much destroyed to give us sense; one of them says again that the name of the god in Sutenhunen will be, "he who inspires a great terror;" and the three last lines are the rubric saying that this is to be recited over an image of Horus made of lapis lazuli and placed at the throat of the deceased.

This narrative evidently described how after the deluge, after the great flood which had covered the earth, Osiris was established as king in the city which was specially consecrated to him, Heracleopolis. The rule of Osiris does not seem to have prevailed without a struggle. The broken lines of the text point to a fight with Set, and perhaps with mankind. All men seem to have been summoned before the god to bow down in his presence; Set himself came and touched the earth with his face. The next line speaks of blood coming out of Sutenhunen, blood which Osiris was "hoeing," covering with earth. This reminds us strongly of the inscription of the destruction of mankind, which says that for several nights the goddess Sekhet waded in blood from Heracleopolis. Evidently in mythology the name of this city was connected with a great slaughter. Chapter 1 speaks of the Feast of Hoeing in Sutenhunen. We must understand it in the same way as what is said in Chapter 18; I quote Renouf's translation: "*thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the great Circle of Gods, at the great hoeing in Tattu, on the night of Hoeing in their blood . . .*

. . . The great Circle of the gods at the great Hoeing in Tattu, when the associates of Sut arrive and take the form of goats, slay them before the gods there while their blood runneth down."

Thus we have the traditional origin of the great festival of Sutenhunen; we see why Osiris was called Hershefi, the terrible, Arsaphes whom the Greeks called Heracles.

We have also a mention of the sacred lake  *Hihi* of Heracleopolis, which is known from the lists of the nomes and also from the inscription of the myth of Horus, where it is derived from

the word "to look for." There are parts of this myth the connection of which with the rest of the text we cannot well recognize—for instance, what is said of tumours which discharge blood and ichor. Altogether this mythological narrative, though having some likeness to the inscription of the destruction of mankind and to Chapter 17, has some features of its own, and it is not impossible that we have there a fragment of the religious traditions of Heracleopolis.

A ROMAN TERRA-COTTA FIGURE OF AN APIS BULL, FROM MEMPHIS.

By Miss M. A. Murray.

The painted terra-cotta bull's head, figured on the accompanying plate, was found at Memphis, and is of the Roman period. The modelling and style of the head and neck in front are particularly good; the back, like almost all Romano-Egyptian terra-cottas, is simply curved, without any attempt at modelling, and widens towards the base to allow of the figure standing firmly. The bull is of a short-horned breed, and bears between the horns the disk of the sun, on which is the uraeus (?) crowned with the disk. The traces of paint show that the whole head had originally been coloured red, the eyes and eye-brows, which are shaped like the conventional human eye, being in black.

Terra-cotta heads of Apis of this type are rare. I do not remember to have seen one in any public museum except the Edwards Collection at University College. They are evidently of purely Memphite origin, and may be considered characteristic of that place. I was fortunate enough to obtain eight, all slightly different, of which this is the best specimen, the rest being modelled by inferior artists.

They were used as household gods, before whom lamps were burned and offerings made and to whom the daily worship was paid. They are always found in the ruins of houses and not in cemeteries, showing that they were for the use of the living, not the dead.

W.L.N.

ROMAN TERRA-COTTA FIGURE OF AN APIS BULL.

FROM MEMPHIS.

Two-thirds size of original.

THE HORUS-TITLE OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT.

By Percy E. Newberry.

The title which takes precedence of all others in the royal protocol is that generally known as the Horus-title. It consists of a Hawk perched on a building, above the façade of which the special name of the king is engraved. The building is generally believed to represent the façade of a tomb,[1] while the Hawk above is supposed to symbolize the king's soul[2]—hence the name engraved over the façade is usually called the *ka*-name.[3] "This title," writes Mr. Griffith,[4] "is probably connected with Osiris worship and indicates that the king was the living successor and son of Osiris on earth, his father being in the Underworld." Professor Petrie says,[5] "that the Hawk seems to have been added to convey the idea that this was the name of the king to eternity and not adopted as a territorial title." He further remarks that the façade over which the *ka*-name of the king was engraved belongs "rather to a tomb than a palace."[6] Mr. Griffith, on the other hand, prefers to see in this sign the façade of a palace.[7] Thanks mainly to the discoveries of the last few years we are now able to trace this Horus-title back to its very origin, and I believe that sufficient evidence has now been accumulated to show that in its *origin and early history* it had, as had some of the other of the royal titles, distinctly a *territorial* meaning.

As a title the is first found above the name of the "Scorpion" King[8] on a limestone vase from Hieraconpolis[9] (see

[1] Petrie, *Tanis*, I, 5; *Season in Egypt*, pl. xx, pp. 21, 22. Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, II, pp. 274, 275; and *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 261; Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*, pp. 19–21.

[2] Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, II, pp. 273–288.

[3] Sometimes also called the "Banner-name."

[4] *Royal Tombs*, I, p. 35; *cf.* Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 18.

[5] *Royal Tombs*, I, p. 36.

[6] *Royal Tombs*, I, p. 36.

[7] *Royal Tombs*, I, p. 38.

[8] On the mace-head of the Scorpion King (*Hieraconpolis*, I, pl. xxvi, C. 4) the hawk is replaced by a rosette-shaped hieroglyph (see fig. 2) comprised of a flower (?) with seven petals. This sign is found again on the slate palette of Narmer, and on his mace-head in a title perhaps reading "King's servant" (*Hieraconpolis*, pls. xxvi B, and xxix).

[9] Quibell, *Hieraconpolis*, I, pl. xix.

fig. 1): the bird is here shown standing upon a curved stick or base, similar to the perch of the early Standard-signs (see figs. 6 and 7[10]). It next occurs on some monuments of Narmer, where the Hawk is shown perched upon the *curved* top of a façade sign[11] (see fig. 3). At this period, however, the Hawk does not invariably appear, for Narmer's name sometimes occurs without it;[12] sometimes, indeed, the royal name is not even written within the façade-sign.[13] Upon the *curved* top of the façade-sign the Hawk again appears on some monuments[14] of Aha (see fig. 4), while on other objects of the same king the stereotyped form[15] of later times is found.

Now Hieraconpolis—the place where the earliest monuments of the kings of Upper Egypt have been discovered—was, as its name implies, "the city of the Hawk";[16] in a late inscription quoted by Brugsch, it is called the *Het-bak*,[17] "Residence of the Hawk." In another late inscription[18] the Standard-sign of the district is with , Hieraconpolis, as its capital. It was here that the hawk had been worshipped from very early times, and the *Hawk*-sign represented the *district* of which the god it symbolised was the protecting deity. The Hawk upon a *curved* perch is a very early Standard-sign[19] (see fig. 5), and it is found as the symbol of two of the four allied tribes[20] who conquered the whole of Egypt.

In later times it occurs in a slightly different form *uthes Heru*, "the raising of the Hawk," as the Standard-sign of the Edfu nome, which embraced the whole territory between the Nubian nome on the south and the Latopolite nome on the north, and consequently included within its limits the town of Hieraconpolis.

[10] *Cf.* also Legge in *Proceedings* S.B.A., vol. xxii, p. 130 and pl. ix.

[11] Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. ii, 3.

[12] See for instance the celebrated slate palette in the Cairo Museum. *Cf.* Legge in *Proceedings* S.B.A., vol. XXII, p. 130 and pl. 1.

Ibid.

[14] Petrie, *Abydos*, II, pl. iv.

[15] Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. x, i.

[16] Strabo, XVII, I, 42.

[17] Dict. Geogr., 210.

[18] Dumichen, *Geogr. Inscr.*, I, 65.

[19] Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. xxvi, 41 b.

[20] On the whole of this subject of the Tribal Chieftains, see Newberry and Garstang, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 14–16.

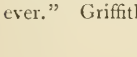
Edfu itself was named *Hor-behudet*, as the town belonging to the *Hawk*-god.[21]

It was from the region of Hieraconpolis that the dynastic kings of Egypt originally emanated.[22] The "Scorpion," the earliest king of Upper Egypt of whom we have any knowledge, put, as we have seen, the Hawk-sign over his name (see *supra*, p. 295 and fig. 1). We have already noted that the represented not merely the god Horus, but also the *district* of which that god was the protecting deity. Now the standard of a district represented also the *Chieftain* of the district;[23] does not therefore the sign in the Horus-title signify the leader of the Hawk-people—the Chieftain of the Hawk district? And were not the *Shemsu Hor*, or "Followers of the Hawk," the Chieftains of the district of which Hieraconpolis was in early times the capital—the Worshippers of Horus? So I would suggest that the Hawk above the so-called *ka*-name of the early kings really represented the Standard-sign of the princes' tribe or district which was placed over the façade of his palace[24] to indicate that the king sprang from the family of the Chieftains of the Hawk district—that he was of the "House of the Hawk."

[21] Wiedemann in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. XVII, p. 199.

[22] In the same city, no doubt, resided the immediate predecessors of the First Dynasty Kings,—the *Shemsu Hor* or "Followers of Horus." The legends of Edfu tell how these "Followers of Horus" had driven before them the enemies of their Chieftain until they possessed themselves of the whole of Egypt. In these legends is undoubtedly preserved the remembrance of the oldest time of Egyptian History. Maspero, *Les forgerons d'Horus*, in *Études de Mythologie*, II, p. 313 *et seq.*; Naville, *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus*.

[23] See for instance, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii, bl. 105, where the , the Standard-sign of the XVIth nome of Upper Egypt, clearly signifies "Chieftain of the Oryx nome."

[24] That the -sign represents the façade of a palace, is, in the light of the fact that the king is often spoken of as "Horus the Lord of the Palace" (Lepsius, *Auswahl*, &c.), and as "The Horus who is in the palace" (Mariette, *Mast.*, 228: Griffith, *Siut*, I, 220), much more probable than that it should be the façade of his tomb, as is generally supposed. The façade sign is termed  *Serekh*, and means "that which proclaims," "makes known," and at the King's accession his Hawk is said to "manifest itself upon the *Serekh* for ever." Griffith, *Royal Tombs*, I, p. 38.

That this was so seems to be proved by the fact that in early times it was *not always* the that was placed over the . Neith-hetep, whom there is reason for believing was a princess of Sais,[25] placed over her name the standard-sign of Sais[26] (see fig. 8); Per-ab-sen, a tribal Chieftain of Middle Egypt or the Eastern Delta,[27] placed over his name the sign (see fig. 9); and Kha-sekhemui, who was perhaps a son of Per-ab-sen by Ne-maat-Hap (a Memphite Princess,[28] and heiress of the legitimate, IInd dynasty, line of kings), placed over his name both the Hawk *and* the Set-signs (see fig. 10).

That the legitimate kings of Egypt were descended from the Chieftains of the Hawk district, and that this district was their particular patrimony, appears to be corroborated by several significant facts which occur in the later history of the country.

In the first place it is important that we never, at any time, meet with a "Great Chieftain of the Hawk nome," whereas we have a fairly complete list of the Chieftains of the other nomes of Egypt.

Secondly, the title *ârï Nekhen*, "he who is concerned with Nekhen (Hieraconpolis)," is a title which occurs at a very early period,[29] and lasted on till late times. It was borne by high State officials, and certainly meant "he who looks after [the royal[30] domain at?] Nekhen"—the officer in charge of the king's estates there.

Thirdly, we find that Queen Aah-hetep, the ancestress of the XVIIIth Dynasty, is mentioned as having owned estates near Edfu.[31]

[25] Newberry and Garstang, *Short History*, pp. 19, 20.

[26] De Morgan.

[27] Newberry and Garstang, *Short History*, p. 26.

[28] Newberry and Garstang, *Short History*, pp. 26, 27.

[29] The earliest mention of the title is found on a tablet of the reign of King Den. *Cf. Royal Tombs* I, pl. XIV, No. II, p. 42.

[30] *Cf.* the title "Governor of the [Royal] City."

[31] See Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, pp. 625-28; and *cf. Proceedings* Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1902, p. 286.

Fig. 1.
Quibell, "*Hieraconpolis*," I, Pl. XIX.

Fig. 2.
Quibell, "*Hieraconpolis*," I, Pl. XXVI, c. 4.

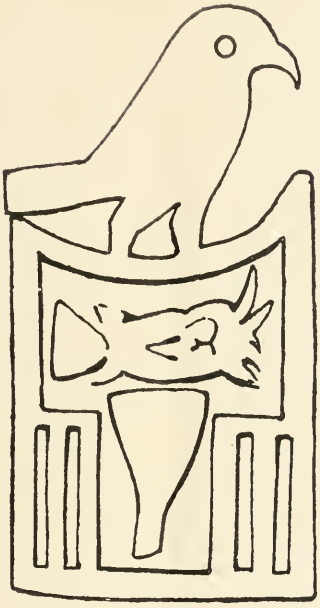


Fig. 3.
Petrie, "*Royal Tombs*," II, Pl. III, 3.

Fig. 5.
Petrie, "*Diospolis Parva*," Pl. XVI, 41*b*, and Pl. IV, "Standards of Ships."

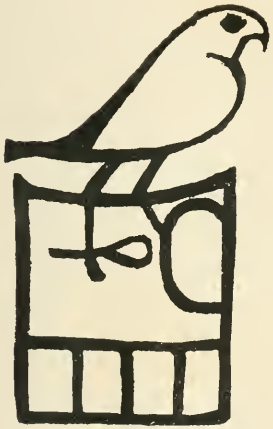


Fig. 4.
Petrie, "*Abydos*," II, Pl. IV.

Fig. 6.

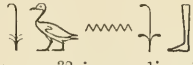
Fig. 7.

Legge, "*Carved Slates from Hieraconpolis*." *Proc. S.B.A.*, XXII, Pl. IX.

Fig. 8.
From a drawing from the original in the Cairo Museum.

Fig. 9.
Petrie, "*Royal Tombs*," II, Pl. XXII, 179.

Fig. 10.
Petrie, "*Royal Tombs*," II, Pl. XXIII, 197.

Fourthly, that with the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty we meet with a title  "Royal Son of Nekheb," Nekheb being the town[32] immediately opposite Hieraconpolis. It does not seem that these Royal Sons of Nekheb were Crown Princes, but the title "Royal Son" is nevertheless significant as occurring in this locality.[33]

The conclusions that I would draw from the -title of the king may be stated as follows:—

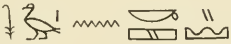
(1.) That the over the Horus-name of the king, represented originally the *totem* of a tribe who settled in the neighbourhood of Hieraconpolis; that it was afterwards transferred to the *district* of which the Hawk was the patron deity, and consequently meant the district of Hieraconpolis; that, at a later period, it was again transferred to the *headman* of that district, and consequently was used to designate the Chieftain of the Hawk province.[34] This Chieftain, at a still later period, conquered the rest of Egypt, but, though he took on new territorial titles, he still retained his original one of "Chieftain of the *Hawk* district," and gave it precedence over all the others.

(2.) That consequently the *Hawk* district was the hereditary property of the Crown, just as Lancaster is of the Crown of England.

(3.) That therefore the Horus-title of the king originally implied that the Royal family was descended from the "House of the Hawk"—that the original conqueror of Egypt was a Chieftain of the *Hawk* district.

(4.) That the was during the Old Kingdom certainly, and perhaps during the Middle Kingdom and New Empire, the officer in charge of the Royal Estates at Nekhen.

[32] Now El Kab.

[33] *Cf.* the title  which appears towards the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

[34] It is hardly necessary to point out that we get a relic of this idea in the fact that the kings of Egypt often speak of themselves as the .

Correction to Prof. Naville's Paper.

In the text (*Proceedings*, November, pp. 251–257) the Leyden Papyrus is referred to as *L. c.* It should be *L. b.*

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C., on Wednesday, January 11th, 1905, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Dr. Pinches :—"Nina and Nineveh."

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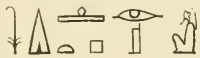
Formula the,  in the light of mythology ... XXVI. 101
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